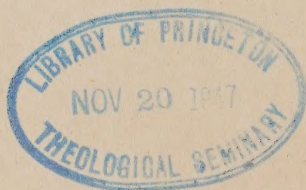





PERSONS AND EVENTS

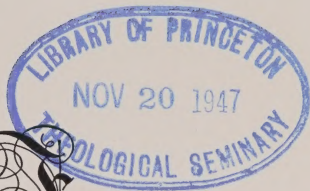


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Persons and events

PERSONS AND EVENTS



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P E R S O N S

A N D

E V E N T S

Reminiscences of
Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer

CONTINUATION OF
80 Eventful Years

Concordia Publishing House - Saint Louis

1947

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In Appreciation



AS THE MANUSCRIPT of this book was being set in type, its author's pen was laid aside, and the voice of a great Lutheran churchman, scholar, educator, editor, author, and preacher was silenced in death. (May 6, 1947.)

Prof. Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer, D. D., Litt. D., was the link between the founders of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States and the morning of its second century. The divine grace to be an ordained servant of the Church for sixty years is extended to few men. To continue in actively serving the Church over so long a period of time is grace which is granted to fewer men. While his labors extended into many areas of ecclesiastical activity, his chief work was that of a teacher and editor. He taught the students at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, for fifty years. He served as president of the Seminary during twelve of these years. As a theological professor he taught more than 4,000 men, who entered the ministry of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

His retirement from activity at the theological school in 1943 did not mean a cessation of service. He continued as editor in chief of *Der Lutheraner* until his death. For a number of years he had been urged to write his memoirs. In his remarkable memory there was stored much information of value, especially to the Missouri Synod, which

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none but he could preserve for posterity. In response to this request, he gave to us an autobiography published under the title *Eighty Eventful Years*, and now this sequel to it: *Persons and Events*.

In these personal sketches of prominent pastors, professors, laymen, and laywomen during the first century of the Missouri Synod's history, of early synodical conventions (1878 to 1884), and the closing chapters on the City of St. Louis sixty years ago and now, we have the author's final contribution to the synodical body in which he labored so long and so ably, winning the high esteem of all who were privileged to know him.

We commend these chapters to the readers as a final legacy of a sainted father in Christ presenting the last flowers which Dr. Fuerbringer plucked for them from the garden of his remarkable memory.

LOUIS J. SIECK

President of Concordia Seminary

St. Louis, Mo., May 31, 1947

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By Way of Introduction



ABSENT SUA FATA LIBELLI, books sometimes have an unexpected and peculiar fate. When I published rather reluctantly a little volume containing a sketch of my life and some reminiscences of my teachers at the college in Fort Wayne and at the Seminary in St. Louis, and also included some recollections of other persons that played a part in the history of our Church, I never expected that the book would find a ready sale. I have written and published other things which in my own opinion are better and more helpful. But, much to my surprise, the book was well received, not only by friends and pastors of our Church and former students, but also by many lay members, men and women, and also by readers outside our church body. Quite a number of them have urged me very strongly to continue writing such reminiscences and cover persons and events which I had occasionally mentioned and which are little known to the present generation. Some of my readers have even urged me very strongly to write a complete history of our Synod, which will observe its Centennial in 1947, and a complete story of Concordia Seminary, which celebrated its hundredth anniversary in 1939, works that are very desirable if they treat also the inner trend of affairs and are based on a thorough study of the source material. But that would be a task requiring from ten to twenty years. If I were twenty years younger, I might consider it, but

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I cannot undertake it at my advanced age and therefore will leave the task to younger men. Since, however, also our Literature Board and our Publishing House are in favor of my continuing my reminiscences, I have written some chapters, but have again limited myself in order not to make this second volume too large.

But what name shall I give to the book aside from the subtitle "Reminiscences"? I remarked in the foreword to the first volume that I did not choose the title "Eighty Eventful Years," because I did not think that my life was so eventful, but accepted that title at the request of the publisher. For this new installment I have selected the title *Persons and Events*, which is indeed rather nondescript, but has been chosen by other writers. Santayana, for instance, the well-known professor of philosophy at Harvard University, has called his interesting but altogether different autobiography *Persons and Places*. I really would have preferred to call the book *Stromata*, taking that title from a theological work of Clement of Alexandria and indicating matters that have been "spread" or "strewn around" without any necessary inner connection, "Miscellanies," a variety of matters. This is the case with my book, covering persons and events not known generally and in detail; but, after all, I did not like such a strange name. If some one should think that I am saying too much of the fathers of our Church, I might call his attention to a word of the English historian Macaulay, who says somewhere: "People who will take no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors" — and "ancestors" should not be restricted to the strict sense of the word — "will never achieve anything

By Way of Introduction

worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants.”¹⁾

Again I must apologize for using the first person so frequently. I would much prefer to keep in the background, but since these are, to some extent at least, personal recollections, I could not avoid using the “I.” I have also again added some references at the end of the book that can be ignored by the general reader, but might be welcome to someone particularly interested in a certain matter and looking for verification and further information. A reader in a foreign country wrote me that he had looked up every reference in my former book.

In closing this introductory note, I must say that I am thankful to my Lord and Savior that He has blessed me so graciously during the many years of my life and has brought me into contact with many persons whom I admired, from whom I learned, and whom I shall never forget. By God’s grace I hope to meet them again before the throne of the Lamb.

THE AUTHOR

PERSONS AND EVENTS

CHAPTER I. — The “Iron Man” of the
Franconian Fathers of Our
Church:
Augustus Friedrich Craemer
His Life in Europe



IT IS WELL KNOWN that Pastor Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria, was one of the foremost of the men in the forties and fifties of the last century that took an active interest in the spiritual needs of members of the Lutheran Church that had emigrated to America. When Pastor Frederick Wyneken of Fort Wayne, Indiana, went to Germany in 1841 and presented those needs by word of mouth, in letters, in personal visits, and in a famous pamphlet, the so-called “Notruf,” or call of distress, Loehe at once responded.¹⁾ He organized a society, published a periodical, *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nordamerika*, “Church Information From and About North America,” and, above all, prepared young men for the ministry in our Church and sent them to our country. This service of Pastor Loehe must never be forgotten in the history of the Lutheran Church in this country. He began this work in 1841, and in the following year he sent the first men to the United States: Adam Ernst and George Burger, and he continued to send such missionaries almost every year. The culmination of this work was the founding of the well-known Franconian colonies in Michigan from

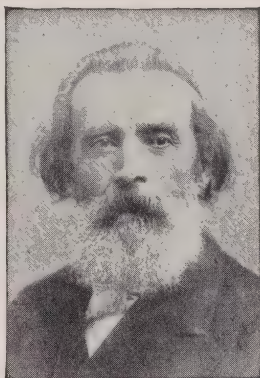
Persons and Events

1845 to 1851: Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, and Frankenhilf. This Franconian immigration was a parallel to the Saxon immigration in 1838—1839, although the purposes of both undertakings were quite different. In one respect the Franconian immigration was almost the more important one, because through this immigration more men came to our country to serve the Church and to undertake mission work among the scattered Lutherans. I cannot enter into details, and the matter was also treated when the Saxon and Franconian centennials were observed.

Among the many men whom Loehe sent to our country some were outstanding; for instance, Dr. Wilhelm Sihler, the most prominent of the emissaries of Loehe in Ohio; Pastor Ferdinand Sievers in Michigan, to whom I have devoted a special chapter in these reminiscences; Pastor W. Roebelen, an excellent preacher and writer; but the strongest character in my opinion, really an “iron man,” was August Friedrich Craemer. His life is so interesting that a record should be kept for future generations, and therefore I am devoting a section of this little book to him. I may also add that I had the privilege of knowing Craemer personally and that he made a deep impression upon me. However, I cannot say that I knew him well; in fact, I met him only twice: the first time, when he spent several days in the home of my parents in September, 1880, and delivered the sermon at the dedication of the beautiful Gothic church in Frankenmuth; and the second time, when I spent almost two weeks in the home of my uncle, Pastor Frederick Lochner, in Milwaukee, during the convention of our Delegate Synod in 1890, where Craemer, the oldest friend of Lochner, was the honored guest. I was also, in a certain sense of

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

the term, his successor when I ministered eight years to the congregation at Frankenmuth, whose first pastor Craemer had been, from 1845 to 1850, and where I noticed so many results of his blessed activity, particularly among the older members of the congregation, who had come with him to Frankenmuth in 1845 or had followed in the succeeding years. They also told me some things which are not generally known. I shall divide what I have to say into two sections: Craemer's life before he came to America, and then his activity in our Church from 1845 up to the time of his death in 1891, reproducing the contents of a memorial oration which I delivered at our Seminary in Springfield on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death in 1916 and making extensive use of the biography of Craemer written by his old friend Frederick Lochner.²⁾



A. F. Craemer

Craemer was born May 26, 1812, in Kleinlangheim, a town in that section of Bavaria which was called Unterfranken, Lower Franconia. His father was a merchant, a very strict man, his mother an excellent, pious woman who had kept her firm Biblical faith in those dreary days of rationalism. He received his first instruction in the Latin language from a neighboring pastor with whom his father was well acquainted. Then he entered the *Gymnasium*, or college, in the old city of Wuerzburg in his neighborhood, and, aside from his exceptional natural gifts, he showed such diligence

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and application that he was graduated at the age of eighteen years with the highest honors and, using the words of his transcript, was "declared very worthy to enter upon five years of study at the university."

The university in this part of Bavaria was Erlangen, which at that time had an excellent faculty and a great influence upon the academic youth, and Craemer entered into the academic life, as was his nature, "mit Feuer und Flamme," with fire and flame. He had matriculated as a student of theology and of classical philology, but also studied history, physics, and philosophy. He was a young man full of life, loved company and enjoyed the freedom of academic life, but refrained from participation in the boisterous and repulsive student activities characteristic of those days and preserved personal decency and moral purity. However, he was not a Christian at that time. He had grown up in a rationalistic atmosphere, since also in Bavaria, just as in Saxony, the Gospel of Jesus Christ was not proclaimed from the pulpits and in the lecture halls, but the rationalistic triad: God, virtue, and immortality. He had no personal relationship to Christ; and Christ's kingdom, in which as a theologian he ought to have had a lively interest, did not concern him very much. In its stead another realm, a kingdom of this world, claimed heart and soul of the energetic young man. The German Empire had been dissolved in the year 1806, in the days of Napoleon the Great. Germany was divided into a number of individual states, quite often very small states, without unity or close connection. And this political situation gave much concern to many, particularly to the gifted and energetic students, and since the princes and leaders were not active

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

in this direction, the students in their patriotic enthusiasm considered themselves called upon to open the way for the political unity of Germany and to help create anew the old "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Accordingly, student associations ("Burschenschaften") were organized in the years after the war of liberation against Napoleon in order to keep alive the idea of German unity and liberty, and although these associations were suppressed for some time, they became active again just a few years before Craemer's admission to the university; and it was not to be wondered at that this fiery youth enthusiastically joined such an association and by his energy and character very soon occupied a leading position. He became a member of the most determined of these associations, the so-called "Germanen," who not only worked for the unity of Germany through physical, moral, and scientific education, but also held that they might fight, if necessary, to effect unity. And as president and spokesman of the "Germanen" in Erlangen he participated in the well-known "Putsch," or revolt, at Frankfurt, April 3, 1833, a bold attempt to change the existing order of things by resorting to arms. The attempt failed, and those that participated in it had to pay dearly for their youthful patriotic dreams by being imprisoned and charged with treason. Also Craemer was imprisoned, and according to the slow and secret procedure of those days, it took three years until judgment was rendered for him and for his fellow students. And then the imprisonment lasted three more years and probably would have lasted even longer if influential men had not interceded for him, particularly the classical philologist and professor Frederick Thiersch in Munich. Craemer was set

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free in June, 1839, but had to give bond for his future proper political conduct and was even placed under surveillance by the police.

This incident, which Craemer, as I shall indicate later, remembered as long as he lived, brought about a decided change in him. He assumed that the ministry would be closed to him, and, abandoning the study of theology, he took up philology instead. At the beginning of 1840 he entered the philological institute of Professor Thiersch in Munich, attended his lectures, as his transcript records, with praiseworthy diligence, and soon gained the love of this high-standing man. He studied particularly Old Greek and Modern Greek, but also Old and Middle High German as well as French and English, and even attended some lectures in medicine. With very good testimonials regarding his work and his life he left the university after having completed his studies in June, 1841. He had been offered a position as tutor of the only son of Count von Einsiedel in Saxony, sometime Secretary of State ("Kabinettsminister") of the Saxon Government, who played an important part in the history of the Saxon fathers of our Church and who presented the leader of the Saxons, Pastor Martin Stephan in Dresden, whose services he attended, with that remarkable chalice which is still used by our Old Trinity Church in St. Louis. Whether his connection with Count von Einsiedel also gave Craemer some information about the Saxon fathers, I do not know, and I have never found any record of it.

But also in Craemer's spiritual life a great change had taken place at that time. During his six years' imprisonment the Spirit of God had approached him in vain. He

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had not as yet become truly free through the Son of God when he received his physical freedom. He was still unconverted when he took up his studies in Munich. He trusted in his own righteousness, and in his own eyes he was an "honorable youth" and a "faithful patriot." His participation in the Frankfurt affair seemed to him merely an unfortunate patriotic act, and therefore also his imprisonment seemed to him a political martyrdom. But in Munich the "hour of Damascus," Acts 9, came for him, when the Lord again visited him, and even more severely than the first time. Soon after he took up his studies again, he was taken very ill. He broke down, as he himself tells us: "The lightning of Sinai struck me and made a deep impression in my mind. My sins were like mountains before me, and the waters of God's wrath encompassed me, the terrors of death and hell." But now the grace of God in Christ Jesus shone into this inner darkness. The good seed which his pious mother had sown into the child's heart through the Lutheran Catechism took root. Particularly the words of the exposition of the Second Article of our Christian faith: "Jesus Christ has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and won me from all sins, from death and from the power of the devil," came to his mind in the anguish of his conscience and finally led him to the peace of forgiveness. The Holy Spirit taught him, as he used to emphasize in his later life again and again, to make this deduction: "If Christ has redeemed the lost and condemned sinners, then He has redeemed me also; because everything in me and in my life is lost, I am damned on account of my sins into the abyss of hell; therefore Christ's blood, which He has shed for me, Christ's

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death, which He suffered for me, also applies to me." In this way Craemer became a Christian, a Lutheran Christian, through the Biblical Lutheran doctrine of reconciliation and justification, and he remained such a Christian throughout his long life; he penetrated deeper and deeper into this central doctrine of Christianity, gradually attained greater insight, and testified and battled for this doctrine, confessed it from the pulpit and in lecture halls, confirmed it in life and conduct, and finally sealed it with his death.

But I must return to the events of his life after this experience. For two years Craemer was a private tutor in the home of Count von Einsiedel, felt very much at home in this noble Christian family, and also accompanied them repeatedly to their estates in Bohemia, once also to Italy. And when he relinquished this post, he was offered through the good services of the count a similar position in England. Lord Lovelace in Devonshire had been seeking a teacher for his children, especially one who had been educated in Germany. Craemer entered the home of this aristocratic family in 1843. It is indeed a remarkable fact that Craemer in the changing life of his youth always had contact with people who belonged to the intelligentsia or occupied prominent positions. The wife of his new master was the daughter of the English poet Lord Byron, the only child of his short, tragic marriage. Lady Lovelace was a philosopher who was occupied throughout the week with her studies and had time for her children only on Sunday. She, as well as her husband, was inclined to Unitarianism, and since both of them expected Craemer to share their liberal principles of education, he resigned his position after a short time.

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

He now intended to return to Germany, but was prevented again in a remarkable way. In his pocket he still had a letter of introduction to a very prominent man, and at least he wanted to deliver it. This man was Sir Henry Drummond, a noted member of the House of Commons and at the same time one of the chief founders and supporters of the sect of the Irvingites, or Apostolic Congregations, that had come to life not long before. Drummond even held the office of an "angel" and "apostle" in this Church. He liked the open, manly ways and the definite Christian character of the young German student, and so he advised him to go to Oxford University and establish himself at first as a private instructor in the German language and literature and later to apply for the professorship of modern literature that was being planned. In this way Craemer, still in 1843, entered the oldest and at the same time most important English university, where thousands of students attended year after year, and most probably he would have obtained a prominent position and found an important sphere of activity in Oxford, and at the same time honor and prestige in the world, if he had not been such a decided Lutheran, who never hid his conviction. Oxford at that time was the center of a peculiar movement in the Anglican, or Episcopalian, State Church, the so-called High Church, ritualistic, or "Oxford Movement," which tended to minimize the Reformation of the Church and to Romanize the Anglican Church, to which some of the adherents of this movement finally seceded. Well-known professors and preachers in Oxford like Edward Pusey, John Keble, and John Henry Newman were leaders in this movement, publishing the *Tracts for the Times*, and

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gradually also the students were drawn into this Puseyism or Tractarian movement; and since Craemer, according to his nature, bore testimony in a candid way against this masked Popery and defended the blessed Reformation of Luther, and as a result of this stand had frequent discussions with professors and students, nothing came of the proposed professorship.

All these happenings and experiences served to make Craemer the man who was soon to be called to serve the Church in a remarkable way. While he was still in Saxony and in England, Pastor Loehe, in Craemer's home country, Bavaria, had already begun to send his first missionaries to our country. While these first men received chiefly a practical education, Loehe looked around for a man of academic training and all-around ability to become a leader; and Craemer also had read, while still in Oxford, the "Notruf," appeal, of Wyneken and had heard of Loehe's undertaking. Encouraged by friends and former teachers, he offered Loehe his services for America, and Loehe, a man endowed with remarkable knowledge of men and characters, recognized in Craemer the proper man for his plans, particularly also because he had learned the English language. It was a favorite idea of Loehe to take care not only of the people of Lutheran faith, but also to bring the Gospel to the heathen Indians in our country. Home Missions should lead to Foreign Missions; and his idea was, not to send an individual as missionary to the heathen, but to found a mission congregation in the immediate vicinity of the Indians. The pastor of this congregation was to be the missionary among them, and the Indians were to see with their own eyes what Christianity is by observing the per-

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

sonal Christian life of the individuals and the church life of the congregation. Loehe soon recognized that Craemer, the resolute, enthusiastic man, would be the right person for such a mission plan, and he found him at once willing and ready to undertake it and also found the proper persons for such a mission colony. Most of them were spiritual children of Loehe, simple, faithful young Christian farmers who wanted to work for the Lord and His kingdom and were willing to make sacrifices. They had been attracted to Loehe by his powerful evangelical sermons and his conscientious pastoral care. The whole undertaking was carefully considered, even to the minutest details, in the winter of 1844–1845, and in spring 1845 the emigration took place under the leadership of Craemer. There were five young couples who were engaged to be married and two bachelors, all of whom, with two exceptions, I knew personally in my younger days. One of the women, a trained midwife, even ushered me into this world. Besides Craemer and his flock, four candidates for the holy ministry were in the company. They were to enter the service of the Lutheran Church in America, among them Craemer's oldest friend, Frederick Lochner. Before they boarded the ship, Craemer was ordained to the holy ministry, not in Bavaria, but in Mecklenburg. Also the Duchess of Mecklenburg had heard the "Notruf" of Wyneken, and other prominent persons were interested in church conditions in America, even the reigning grand duke and particularly the aged widow of his father. Craemer, therefore, first visited Mecklenburg and was ordained in the Schwerin Cathedral in the presence of a large congregation, and the officiating minister happened to be the superintendent

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and later the highest church official of the Mecklenburg State Church, the well-known president of the church council, Dr. Theodore Kliefoth. I have been told by Lochner that it was indeed a momentous and impressive hour when Kliefoth, after the ordination, communed Craemer according to old church custom and spoke to him who kneeled before him at the altar the words of the angel to Elijah: "Arise and eat, because the journey is too great for thee," 1 Kings 19:7. Some of the influential and prominent friends of Craemer handed him a magnificent Bible, which was used for many years as the altar Bible in the church at Frankenmuth and is now part of the collection of the Concordia Historical Institute.

CHAPTER II. — The “Iron Man” of the
Franconian Fathers of Our
Church:
Augustus Friedrich Craemer
His Life in America



THE SHIP on which Craemer and the members of his little congregation sailed landed in New York on the 8th of June, 1845, and now his life in America begins. How he found his future wife on the boat is recorded in another chapter of these reminiscences under the heading “Three Unforgettable Mothers in Israel.” They were married in New York by Pastor Stohlmann. And then the immigrants went to Michigan, because two of the candidates that came with Craemer had been requested by Loehe to join the old Michigan Synod, which had been organized a few years earlier, and because in Michigan also the beginning of a mission among the Indians had been made. From Detroit they went by boat to Saginaw, and the trip, which can be made now in three or four hours, took almost a week. About fifteen miles from Saginaw, in the forest primeval, on the Cass River, the mission colony of Frankenmuth was founded in the summer of 1845 as the first of the Franconian settlements, and Craemer and the Frankenmuth congregation became charter members when the Missouri Synod was organized two years later in Chicago.

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But the beginning was very hard, and we can hardly realize the difficulties which had to be overcome. The immigrants settled in a forest, and very often they had to clear a way by cutting down trees and underwood. They were not acquainted with American conditions and had hardly anyone to assist them by word or deed. The living conditions were very primitive. In the summer they slept first under a roof covered with branches, then in a hut, rudely constructed of slabwood, and it took more than half a year to finish a log house which was to serve as church, mission house, and parsonage. Lacking good drinking water and exposed to primitive and unhealthful conditions, the immigrants contracted fever, so that at one time almost all the members of the little congregation were ill, and Craemer himself had such a severe attack that he was placed in a canoe, covered (since they had no quilts) with branches of trees, and taken by two men to Saginaw. But just in those conditions it became apparent that he was the right man for this difficult undertaking. With an iron will he overcame the difficulties, set his members an outstanding example, was himself active in clearing and building, brought water to the thirsty, and, according to the order of services that had been arranged and adopted in Germany, held services every morning and evening. Even in my days regular Wednesday services were still held at eight o'clock in the morning, and a number of people left their work and came to church. All the minor festivals of the church year, St. John's Day, Purification, Annunciation, and Visitation of Mary, St. Michael's Day, the Second Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost Days were observed on weekdays. I remember very well how an old mother told me that in those

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first years the primitive conditions caused many tears and led to many prayers and induced much homesickness. But the example of the minister had always been an incentive to take new courage and continue the work that had been begun.

And better days came before long. On Christmas Day, 1845, Craemer held the first service in the log house. On New Year's Eve, at midnight, the bells, which had been brought from Germany, were rung for the first time, and the assembled congregation sang "All Glory Be to God Alone." (These days are more fully described in the interesting little book written by Dr. Theodore Graebner under the title *Church Bells in the Forest*.) Soon also, on Pentecost, 1846, new immigrants came from the old home in Germany — nine families, ten young couples, and a number of single persons. And Craemer continued as a patriarch in the congregation, which grew from year to year, indefatigable in his work, honored and loved by all, and, I must say, also feared by some on account of his firmness and determination. At the same time his mission activities were continued. In the course of time he founded three main stations among the Indians, which he visited regularly once a month, and, above all, he and his excellent wife, who was not afraid of any work or trouble, took care of the Indian children. They lived in his own house, so that they could attend the Christian day school, and before long he had a dozen, then 17, and finally over 30 Indian children in his home. The old church records of the Frankenmuth congregation contain quite a list of Indians whom Craemer had baptized, and since the mission work and at the same time the work in the growing congregation in-



SITE OF
THE FIRST BLOCKHOUSE
IN
FRANKENMUTH,
ERECTED IN 1845.
USED
AS CHURCH, PARSONAGE
AND
INDIAN SCHOOL.

Memorial Tablet of Blockhouse Erected in the Fall of 1845 and Used
for the First Time on Christmas Day, 1845

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

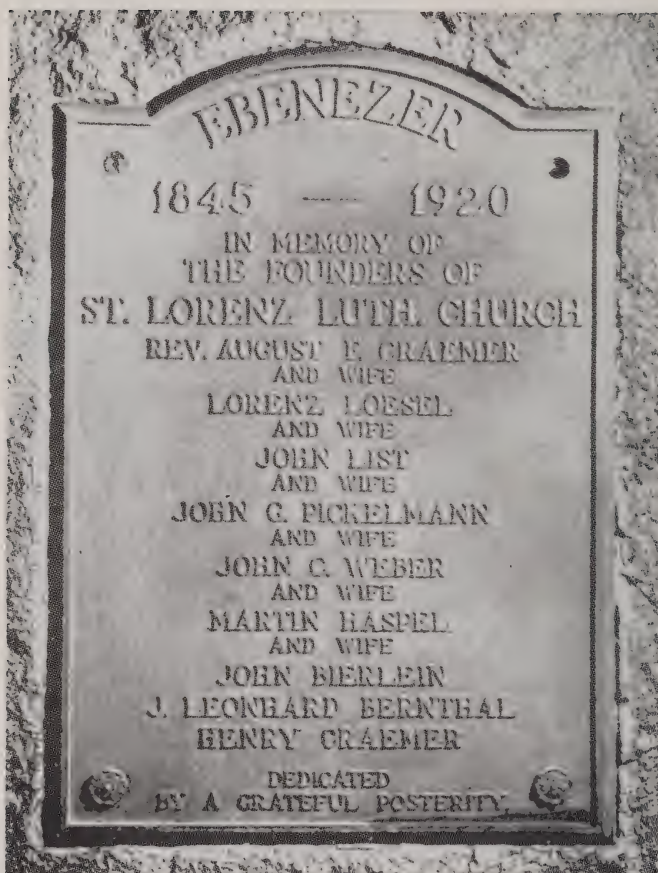
creased, Craemer, in 1847, was given a co-laborer, the well-known missionary E. R. Baierlein, who was sent to America by the Leipzig Mission Society and later transferred to India. The foundation had been laid for a mission among the Indians, and it was not the fault of Craemer and his



**Bells Brought from Germany and Used in Frankenmuth for Many Years,
for the First Time on New Year's Eve, 1845**

successors and the Frankenmuth people that this promising mission, which with the coming of Baierlein was transferred to Bethany near St. Louis, Michigan, had to be discontinued after a number of years.

But that is another story. And long before it took place,



Memorial Tablet in Frankenmuth Placed on a Large Granite Boulder
in Front of the Present Church

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

a great change occurred in Craemer's life. In October, 1850, he was elected professor of the Practical Theological Seminary at Fort Wayne, Indiana, founded by Loehe in 1846 to relieve the scarcity of Lutheran ministers and transferred to our Synod in 1847. The Frankenmuth congregation indeed was very reluctant to give up their devoted minister, but was finally ready to make the sacrifice in the interest of the church at large and gave him a peaceful dismissal. This professorship was the more important position, because at that time doctrinal differences between Loehe and our church body were appearing. The Franconian colonies had been founded by Loehe and in those critical days needed just such a man as Craemer. Loehe himself wrote from Germany that our Synod could not have selected a better man. He knew (and Loehe had the ability to estimate and pass judgment on persons) that Craemer was just the man for the position in Fort Wayne. He may also have remembered that it was originally his own plan to send Craemer to America as a teacher of theology and that Craemer would now be led into this position in an entirely different way. In November Craemer delivered his farewell sermon and went with his family to Fort Wayne. And I know from Craemer himself how he realized that a very cordial relationship was dissolved at that time. He told me that his departure took place from the Frankenmuth church. The bells were rung, and the whole congregation, which at that time numbered about seventy families, even women and children, accompanied him seven miles to the next little town before they returned. I personally noticed this love of the older Frankenmuth

Kirchengemeinde in
 deutsch-lutherischen Kirchgemeinde in
 Frankenmuth
 am Stip. Cass in der Pfarrschaft Saginaw
 der Staat Michigan, den im Jahr der Gef.
 1845
 aus Franken in Kirchengemeinde. Dieser Gottesdienst wird
 gehalten von der Waisen in der Kirchenmuth
 in der Kirche zu Franken, gehalten wird in dem
 ersten Hefen in Franken der deutsch-lutherischen
 Kirche ist ein bekannter.
 August. Friedrich Kraemer
 geb. zu Altmühlheim in der Kirchenmuth, den
 24. Mai 1845.
 Taufen von Franken.
 1846 in 27. Sept. Abraham 16. Aug. 17. Sept.
 27. Magdalena 16. Aug. 1847 13. Sept.
 27. Anna 16. Aug. 7. Sept.
 1847. 7. Juli Johanna 16. Sept. { Kinder des Pfarrers in der
 7. Heinrich Eduard 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 7. Dorothea 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 24. Aug. Bartholomäus 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 16. Okt. Lorenz 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 14. Julie 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 14. Jakob 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 24. Nikolaus 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 24. Johannes 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 24. Thomas 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847
 24. Andreas 16. Sept. { Kirchenmuth, 18. Sept. 1847

First Page of the Old Church Record of the
 Congregation in Frankenmuth, Mich. The
 Page Records the Founding of the Church

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people for Craemer and his wife when he visited there again thirty years later.

But now Craemer took over an important position in the church at large. Although he had to change his residence twice, he always remained in the same office, as instructor and later on as president of the seminary, from November, 1850, until his death in May, 1891 — over forty years. And in those forty years of instruction he produced hundreds of energetic, faithful, pious ministers. He made the institution what its founder, Loehe, wanted it to be: “an institution for the purpose of preparing quickly and, at the same time, thoroughly ministers and pastoral advisers for the many neglected fellow Lutherans in our country and for new immigrants of our nationality and confession.” Craemer gave this institution its character, and his name is and will remain connected with it for all time.

When Craemer took office, the Seminary in Fort Wayne had been in existence four years. He was in the prime of life, 38 years old, and with all the force and energy of his nature he took up the work. At that time there were only about twenty students in the Seminary, chiefly men sent by Loehe, but the institution grew, especially in later years when Loehe's place was taken by Pastor Friedrich Brunn in Steeden and by Pastor Louis Harms in Hermannsburg, who also prepared boys and young men for the ministry and then sent them to our Church for their final education. The students exhibited great dissimilarity, having received no uniform preliminary education. Although Craemer had an excellent co-worker in Dr. Wilhelm Sihler, who also had been sent to America by Loehe and with whom Craemer worked together in brotherly harmony in spite of tem-

The "Iron Man" of the Franconian Fathers

peramental differences between them, still Sihler had to take care of his continually growing congregation, and the chief work had to be done by Craemer.

The institution remained in Fort Wayne for eleven years after Craemer had taken over the work, and during that time he educated about 80 ministers. But in 1861 the Seminary, which had also prepared teachers for Christian day schools, was transferred to St. Louis, and Craemer now worked together in the same cordial relationship with Professor C. F. W. Walther, the head of the St. Louis institution. In the first years these two men did the work alone until Pastor E. A. Brauer was called as a third professor. Some of the branches taught, Church History, Symbolics, Pastoral Theology, Homiletics, and Catechetics, were given to both departments of the institution; otherwise each one directed his own department, Walther the so-called Theoretical Department, Craemer the so-called Practical Department. And in these years, from 1861 to 1875, about 220 ministers were graduated from the Practical Department. In those years he also contributed articles to the *Lutheraner*. I recall particularly his preface to the twenty-fifth volume, where he described the great changes in the Lutheran Church of America since the paper first appeared in 1844, due to a large extent to its faithful testimony, but he also sounded an earnest warning against the doctrinal position of the newly organized Lutheran General Council and of the Iowa Synod, the latter called into being by Loehe in 1853 after the breach between him and our church body. For *Lehre und Wehre* he translated Dr. H. Eckhardt's *Compendium of the Theology of the Church Fathers* and

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printed it together with the Latin original in installments extending with intermissions over a number of years.¹⁾

And once more the institution and Craemer had to move. In 1874 our Synod resolved to separate the two seminaries and to move the Practical Department to Springfield, Ill. Craemer was not in favor of this separation for reasons which were also shared by others. He also requested Synod to relieve him of his office, since he was no longer able to do all the necessary work. But our Church declared (and it is so recorded in the *Synodical Report* of 1874) that she could not as yet do without his faithful services, particularly at that time, because he would be the only one who was well informed about the Practical Department. This would be of the utmost importance in a reorganization. Accordingly, the man of 63 years moved and accustomed himself to new conditions and with his indomitable will power filled the position with youthful ardor and energy for sixteen years. At times he gave 23 lectures per week, aside from a special evening period devoted to Luther's writings, the so-called "Lutherstunde," besides performing the duties connected with the presidency. He taught Dogmatics, Pastoral Theology, Symbolics, and Homiletics. The institution flourished. At his side worked Henry C. Wyneken, professor of theology, and two men in the so-called proseminary. About 330 candidates entered the ministry during these sixteen years. He endured great afflictions. His faithful wife was taken from his side. Two grown sons and his only daughter passed away. Also serious situations, among them a terrible epidemic of typhoid fever, gave him much concern. But he remained the same strong, valiant hero, and as such I had him before my eyes when I spent, as

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stated above, two weeks with him in Pastor Lochner's home in Milwaukee during the convention of 1890. But rest soon came to him. The school year 1890—1891 was a very hard one. A new stately building for the institution, which Craemer had desired for many years, was being erected, but the second theological professorship was vacant, and it took almost a year until it was filled again. And just on the day when his new colleague, Professor Reinhold Pieper, was installed, April 8, 1891, Craemer broke down. This installation was his last public act. But also on his sickbed, which before long became his deathbed, Craemer remained Craemer. His successor, in writing about his last days, quotes Rom. 8:37: "In all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us," and as a victor this pious and faithful servant enters into the joy of his Lord with the doxology of the Lord's Prayer on his lips: "for Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory forever and ever, Amen." He died May 3, 1891, and on May 7, Ascension Day, he was buried. Professor A. L. Graebner delivered the funeral oration, using as his text the doxology just mentioned.²⁾

Anyone following the incidents which have been recorded of Craemer's life will readily see that Craemer was a character in the fullest sense of the term, and just on that account he was well qualified for his life's work. He knew how to mold characters, and in his work of educating future ministers he always had two things in mind: to make them ministers well grounded in the Biblical Lutheran doctrine — and he had indeed a remarkable gift to accomplish this in a comparatively short time — and at the same time to educate them to be pious and self-denying ministers, who

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would be ready and willing, as he himself had been, to go anywhere and to do anything for the sake of the Lord and His Church. And while he could rouse the interest and the courage and the willingness of his students for service in the Church in a remarkable way, he also knew how to teach them true humility and to deflate pride and pretentiousness. One of his first students, Pastor George Link, whom some of my readers will remember as a former pastor in St. Louis and Springfield, Ill., once wrote: "When I took office as a young man of 22 years among 16 families that assembled in a small church that resembled a barn more than a church and received a salary of \$60.00 per annum, I always thought, That is much too good for you. You are not worthy to be a minister."

The story of Craemer's life shows that he was a very strict man. That was, in part, a result of the very rigorous education he had received in his home, in part a natural trait. I remember a little story which I heard as a college boy, when Craemer, my father, and others sat at the table. They spoke about handwriting, and all agreed that Craemer's was beautiful, characteristic, and firm. It was so unique that I am still able to recognize Craemer's handwriting at a glance. But Craemer remarked when this conversation took place: "Yes, I had to learn it. When I was taught writing, my father stood behind me with a stick, and whenever I wrote incorrectly or illegibly, he struck me." I know from what I heard in my youthful days in Frankenmuth that Craemer was also sometimes too strict in dealing with his own children, with his parishioners, and, in later life, with his students. But Craemer was, above all, strict with himself. Throughout his life he had a stern

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sense of duty, which he sought to instill also in his students. He was always averse to carelessness either in money matters or in the performance of the daily tasks, and more than one of his students, when summoned to appear before him, heard as the first words of reprimand and exhortation the words: "Sie unglueckseliger Mensch," you miserable wretch. I am sure that many of his former students could bring more examples of such acts and at the same time tell of character traits not known to me. Just lately one of his former students, now a retired minister, wrote me that Craemer took a roommate of his to task because he had repeatedly missed chapel devotions, but that one day this student said: "From now on I am going to be punctual and conscientious in attending chapel," and added: "Uncle has cited me before the judgment throne of God." And yet no one must think that Craemer was legalistic. He was an evangelical character, teacher, and preacher. He lived in the Gospel message of justification by grace for Christ's sake through faith. He was not gloomy and morose, but a joyful Christian, and his students knew well enough that he was their fatherly friend and adviser, and the name by which they called him, and which is still living among them, is very significant: "Uncle Craemer."

In the heading of this chapter I called Craemer the "iron man" among the Franconian fathers. I do not know of anyone among the fathers of our Church in whom the power of the mind over the body was so strong as in him. In Frankenmuth he suffered a long time from fever, but he did not give up. He was subject to very severe headaches during his teaching days, but he omitted no period of instruction on that account. And with great will power

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he continued to work up to his old age, also in the last very distressing days, until he finally broke down.

Craemer was full of fire and energy, a fire which in his youthful days of patriotic enthusiasm led him into wrong ways. But through his conversion to Christ this fire of his nature was sanctified. The efficacy of divine grace is indeed remarkable. It does not destroy the nature, the temperament, the individuality of man, but it permeates and sanctifies it. A holy fire burned in Craemer's words and gestures when he addressed his students on the tasks and responsibilities of the ministerial office and when at conventions and conferences he spoke with his powerful voice for things which he considered right and correct. I shall never forget the beginning of his oration when his friend Dr. Walther was buried in May, 1887, in St. Louis. Old, spacious Trinity Church was filled to the very last nook and corner. Quiet reigned. Suddenly Craemer appears before the coffin at the altar. With his hands raised to heaven he expresses his holy (I would like to say holy-impassioned) sorrow in words that sounded through the church: "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof," 2 Kings 2:12.

Craemer was also a very diligent man. Work, much work, hard work, was a pleasure for him. I think there are not many men who are absolutely against vacations, but Craemer seems to have been one of them. And I may add that my father shared in this conviction. Craemer was always glad when summer vacation ended, and whenever at the meeting of the committee on the assignment of ministerial calls it became evident that there were not enough candidates to supply the demand, he always came with

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the request to be permitted to prepare a selected group for the ministry during vacation time. And his statement that nothing could give him greater pleasure was not merely a phrase, but truth. This love for work had a deeper motive. In the last years of his life, when his children and friends importuned him not to work so hard in his old age, but simply to do the most necessary things and have younger men take care of the rest, what did Craemer answer? Mentioning the political sins of his youth, he replied that just as he did not get tired in those days and in his blindness at that time knew no bounds for his energy, just as he had been ready to sacrifice honor and life for a cause which must have been an abomination to God, so he would not, as long as God would grant him His grace, get tired, but would serve Him with all powers of body and soul until the end. God had rescued him like a brand plucked out of the fire and had shown him so much grace that he could not do anything else than consume his powers in the service of the Lord. He had vowed to God that his whole life should be a continual repentance, and such repentance he would not be able to show in a better way than through continued faithfulness and diligence in his office. He declared that his arduous work was not a burden, but through God's grace a pleasure, and it should remain so until God finally, again through His grace, would take him to Himself. And so he continued indefatigably, leading a very simple life until the hour of his release came. His simple life may also be illustrated by an amusing characteristic. Craemer could not get used to modern lighting, not even to an oil lamp, but did his work by candlelight, as I have been told.

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It should also be noted that Craemer was an example to his students and all Christians in other ways. I shall mention only one thing. Dr. Sihler, the co-laborer of Craemer, writes in his biography concerning the days which they spent together in Fort Wayne that Craemer, although himself a preacher, professor, and theologian, was a very diligent attendant at all the services. Not only on Sundays, but also Wednesday evenings, he came to the church with all of his students, even if the weather was very bad and the walks from the seminary to the church were very muddy. And having known Fort Wayne in the seventies and eighties of the last century, I can well imagine how it must have been in the fifties. And his friend Lochner tells us the same thing of the Springfield days.

Above all, Craemer was a Christian who was very solicitous about his soul's salvation, who communed daily with his God and Savior in sincere prayer, ready any time to depart and appear before His throne. One of his former students, Pastor A. Laux, formerly in South Dakota and later in Martinsville, near Buffalo, N. Y., tells the following story: One day he stood before Craemer's door. A violent thunderstorm raged outside. The student knocks repeatedly at the door, but hears no answer. A member of the family on the first floor tells him: Just go in; he is inside. Yes, Craemer was inside, but on his knees before the window, deep in prayer, and the student hears the words: "If you want to call for us even in a thunderstorm, oh, come now, dear Lord Jesus."

Did Craemer have no weaknesses? Was he a perfect Christian? Yes, he had some weaknesses. His fiery temperament, especially in earlier years, gave him considerable

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trouble, and sometimes this trouble also affected others. And he also had other shortcomings. He was no perfect saint, but he battled against his evil nature, and through faith in the blood of Christ he had been washed and his clothes had been made white in the blood of the Lamb. And in the well-known Bible passage that we should remember those that have the rule over us as preachers and teachers we do not read that we should look at their shortcomings and sins, but follow their faith, considering the end of their conversation, Heb. 13:7, 17.

CHAPTER III. — A Soldier Who Became
an Outstanding Servant of the
Church:
Wilhelm Sihler

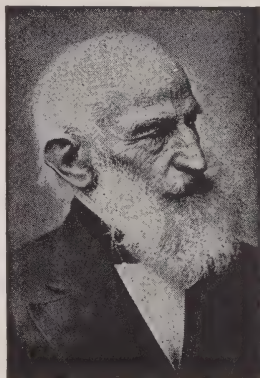


R. WILHELM SIHLER of Fort Wayne, the well-known pastor of old St. Paul's Church of that city and for many years connected first with our Seminary and then with our college in Fort Wayne, was an outstanding servant of our Church. For five years, while I was a student at the college, I not only heard him preach, since I attended St. Paul's Church, but also observed him when as chairman of the board of control of the college he inspected the institution. Besides, I knew not only all his children with one exception, and some of them quite well, but also his wife, particularly after she had become a widow. I was also in his home a few times, but hardly had a chance to talk with him. He was then of a rather retiring nature and became more so in his last years, since he was quite hard of hearing. But he always impressed me as a strong character and as a clear thinker, attached to the members of his church in Fort Wayne and to our church at large, of which he was one of the founders at the organizational meeting in Chicago in 1847, becoming its first Vice-President.

When I first saw Dr. Sihler, he was already quite old, but still very active. When he visited the classes at the

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college as chairman of the board of control, he sometimes examined the students. One of his favorite studies had been geography, and I remember very well that on one occasion he tried to find out for himself what we knew about foreign countries. A certain physical peculiarity interested the college boys very much, and I have not forgotten it to this day, perhaps also because I never found that peculiarity in anyone else except in some of his sons. He had the habit of moving his ears, voluntarily and involuntarily, and a close observer could not help noticing it. I do not know whether he was fully aware of this habit. As stated above, I also heard him preach quite often. St. Paul's Church in those days had two pastors, Sihler being the senior and Henry G. Sauer the junior pastor. In my college days Sauer had taken over more and more the work in the congregation, Sihler confining himself to preaching and making pastoral calls, chiefly, I think, among the older members of the church. But considering what I observed myself and what I heard from others, I was very sure that he was remarkably sincere and frank, concerned about the welfare of those entrusted to his care. These characteristics are readily recognized as one follows the history of his life. It was a truly remarkable career and shows in more ways than one how God in His providence gave our Church in her early history the men she needed



Wilhelm Sihler

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for her welfare and for the role she was to play in the history of the Lutheran Church in America. A sketch of Sihler's life, therefore, is eminently proper, particularly since there are only a few people still living who personally knew Sihler, his passing having taken place more than sixty years ago, in October, 1885.

He was born November 12, 1801, in Bernstadt, a small town in Silesia, not very far from Breslau. His father was an officer in the Prussian army, and that accounts for the fact that also his son William entered that career; and I was rather amused to observe that even one of Sihler's own sons had a particular liking for this calling, and two of his grandsons actually entered military service. He was a very gifted boy, able to read fluently when he was five years old, and entering the *Gymnasium*, or high school and Junior college, when he was ten years old. Only his penmanship was not satisfactory, and those who have seen his handwriting and examined a number of his letters and manuscripts, as I have done, will agree that he was not very proficient in that line.

Having finished his studies at the *Gymnasium*, he entered a military school, became a soldier, and, when only eighteen, a second lieutenant. One of his fellow students was the well-known Prussian general Helmut von Moltke. Undoubtedly he would have advanced rapidly in the army, but after some time, realizing that this was really not the calling he preferred, he entered the university, first at Breslau and later at Berlin, studying philosophy, languages, geography, literature, history, and the natural sciences. He speaks very interestingly of his studies and recreations. In the classics the famous Boeckh was his teacher; geog-

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raphy he studied under the renowned Karl Ritter, but the lectures of the philosopher Hegel, which attracted so many students, he attended only once. He actually felt repulsed by Hegel's language and method and was not able to understand the subject matter, although he was a thinker himself. On the other hand, through the lectures of A. W. Schlegel on the drama he was much attracted to the study of Shakespeare and Goethe's *Faust*, but censured very strongly Goethe's lack of moral earnestness. He was also much interested in music and met and heard Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy as a boy in his father's home. Already in those Berlin days he published two little books, one a humorous one under the title of *Arabesques* and the other on the *Symbolism of the Face*, composed under the influence of Lavater's physiognomical studies; but although I have always been somewhat of a book hunter, I have not been able to find them. When I saw them offered in a German catalog many years ago, I promptly ordered them, but my order from America came too late. I can only repeat that his statements and opinions about such matters, as expressed in his autobiography, are very interesting and give me a better understanding of the man in his later life. At the university he also attended the lectures of the very prominent and influential theologian and preacher Schleiermacher, was particularly attracted by his sermons and writings, of which he also speaks in a very interesting way, visited also in his home, but did not at that time think of studying theology and entering the ministry. In fact, he was no Christian in those days. His mother was a Polish Catholic, and everywhere, in his home, in school, and in church, rationalism reigned supreme.

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When his father passed away without leaving him any inheritance, Sihler had to engage in private tutoring and to accept support from friends; and when he had finished his university studies in 1830, he became a teacher in a well-known private school in Dresden, Saxony, the so-called Blochmann Institute. One of his colleagues in those days was F. A. Philippi, who later became so well known as a faithful confessional theologian and university professor. And in those years in Dresden he was converted and brought to a saving knowledge of Christ. He himself describes this change in his autobiography, and this story has always impressed me as a remarkable conversion. It was brought about suddenly, like Paul's conversion. Sihler's temperament was choleric, and, after having again on a certain occasion lost his temper, he fell on his knees, stricken by the hammer of God's Law, acknowledged himself a miserable transgressor of the Fifth Commandment and realized that he deserved nothing but the eternal pain of hell. But God rescued him, showed him Christ as his Savior, and made him a Christian. He himself speaks of this in a detailed way in his autobiography.¹⁾

After his conversion in such a remarkable manner, Sihler was brought more and more to a full knowledge of the Law and of the Gospel and became an indefatigable student of Holy Scripture, fully convinced of its verbal inspiration, which he maintained throughout his long life. He read the Bible not only in his room, but also on his walks and vacation travels, and learned the many passages which he was able to quote in his later life by heart, even complete chapters, as, for example, 1 Corinthians 13; and he accepted Scripture just as it is written and based his

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whole theological conviction on the words as they stand. This he showed time and again in his many contributions to our periodicals, and in the controversies through which our Church passed and in which he took an active part, as, for instance, the Predestinarian Controversy. And he was also firmly convinced that the Lutheran Church taught the true doctrine of Holy Scripture and he was led into an ever deeper knowledge and understanding of Lutheranism by several well-known men with whom he became acquainted while still teaching at the school in Dresden. The first of these was Scheibel, professor at the University of Breslau, and a member of the Prussian, or Breslau, Free Church, for which he suffered persecution. The second was Wermelskirch, at first a Jewish missionary in London and later on one of the founders of the Leipzig Lutheran Mission in India. And the third and foremost one was Rudelbach, in Dr. C. F. W. Walther's opinion the greatest German Lutheran theologian of the nineteenth century (although others gave this place to Harless). Rudelbach was the author of an excellent work: *Reformation, Lutheranism, and Union*, and he led Sihler into the diligent reading and acceptance of the Confessions of the Lutheran Church and into a firm opposition to every kind of unionism. Rudelbach's work may be compared with a similar work by the prominent Lutheran theologian of America, Charles Porterfield Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation*. Through an intensive study of the Lutheran Confessions Sihler also obtained an excellent knowledge of the Reformed doctrines and recognized the Pope in Rome as the Antichrist. It is indeed worth while to read his statements in his very frank and valuable autobiography, and one gains the impression

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that after Scripture he knew of no better work than the Lutheran Confessions, treasuring particularly the Apology of the Augsburg Confession and the Formula of Concord.

He also had some interesting and valuable family connections in Dresden, was a frequent visitor in the home of an excellent Christian woman, Frau von Kuegelgen, the widow of a famous portrait painter. And through another visitor in her home, a sister of the wife of the well-known Pastor Martin Stephan, he heard about this leader of the Saxon emigrants in 1838, but for several reasons did not attend his church.

Before long, however, a great change took place in his life. Having taught in Dresden up to 1838, he became, for five years, a private tutor in the Baltic Provinces of Russia, the first two years on the island of Oesel, the rest of the time in Riga, the capital of Latvia. (It is an interesting fact that many years after Sihler's stay on the island of Oesel our church body had some connection with, and was represented on, this island by Pastor N. Bauerle, a Lutheran minister who joined the German Free Church and was supported by our own Church.) These five years seem to have been the most interesting and happy years of Sihler's life in the Old World, and he intended to devote his life to that part of the Church and become a pastor in Latvia or Esthonia. But again, as so often in his life, the word came true: "Man proposes, but God disposes." One day, while he was on his way to visit a pastor not far from Riga, he read Wyneken's "Notruf," or Cry of Distress, that remarkable pamphlet which described the spiritual needs of the scattered Lutheran immigrants in our country and wielded such a great influence in the development of the

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Lutheran Church in America; and it struck Sihler like lightning, as if God spoke to him personally and told him, "You must go to America." He himself tells us that in order to make sure that he should go to America, he prayed that God would let him know through men that it was His will that he render such service to the scattered Lutherans in America. He did not write to any of his Christian friends and brethren, neither did he say anything to his friends in Riga; but without any suggestion on his part, he received a letter from several faithful ministers in Oesel, who also had read Wyneken's call, urging him to go to America and promising him material help. The same call came to him from a society for America that had been organized in Dresden, and Sihler recognized in these happenings the voice and will of God. Persuaded that he should go, he did not confer with flesh and blood, Gal. 1:16, but returned to Germany; however, before leaving Europe, he went to the well-known patron of mission work in America, Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendettelsau, Bavaria; and although he was not in any way influenced by Loehe personally, he very readily accepted Loehe's plan as the best way of rendering help to the Lutheran Church in America, namely, that Lutherans should emigrate with their pastors, buy tracts of land, organize Lutheran congregations, and educate young men for service in the Church. Hereupon he was examined by Rudelbach, who issued an excellent testimonial to him, and in September, 1843, he left for America, came to New York, and then to Columbus, Ohio, following the directions of Loehe, who had already established some connection with the theological seminary of the Ohio Synod at Columbus.

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And now begins the second part of Sihler's life. While the first volume of his autobiography deals with his life in Europe, the second volume treats his activities in America. It is also written in a very frank, outspoken way, characteristic of all his utterances and writings. I have it on pretty good authority that the censorial reader of the first volume eliminated some sentences and sections just on that account.

Sihler was now in the prime of life, forty-three years of age, and through Professor Lehmann of Columbus he was directed to Pomeroy, Ohio, in order to serve the scattered Lutherans in that neighborhood. But he did not stay very long in Pomeroy, since he was called to Fort Wayne in 1845 as successor to Pastor Wyneken. There, during the next forty years, he really did his life's work. This work is so well known throughout our Church that I need not dwell on it in detail. Suffice it to say that he wielded a very great influence in our Church through his manifold activities as pastor and as official and through his writings in our church periodicals. Over one hundred articles in the *Lutheraner* and in *Lehre und Wehre* are to his credit, some of them quite important. As indicated above, he was not a young man when he took charge of St. Paul's in Fort Wayne, and when I entered Concordia College in 1877, he was an old man, but still quite active, although for some years he had had an associate pastor, H. G. Sauer. These two were, as we students very soon recognized, men of contrasting types. Sihler was earnest, stern, exacting in every respect; Sauer was kind, friendly, approachable. Sihler's sermons were careful, thorough expositions of the text, presented without any particular rhetorical endeavor; Sauer was a gifted speaker, using beautiful, impressive lan-

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guage, and those who heard him on festival occasions, particularly at the great festivals of the church year, will never forget his sermons. But though they were very different characters, as Sihler himself acknowledged and confessed in his usually outspoken and ingenuous way, they got along and worked side by side very well. Sauer respected the older man, the father of the congregation, the clearheaded firm theologian, and Sihler knew and realized that Sauer had particular gifts which were very important and necessary for the Church. Sometimes we college students announced for Communion in Sihler's parsonage, and, although quite friendly, he did not say much but examined us in the chief parts of the Catechism. Sauer presupposed that we knew the Catechism and emphasized some Christian principles which college students should earnestly observe. Thus I remember that at one time he had heard that students had attended a theatrical performance with the permission of our teacher—I think it was "Uncle Tom's Cabin"—although I was not one of the number. But Sauer, although in a very careful manner, stated that he disagreed with our teachers, whom he respected very much, and read to us a letter from Dr. Walther, in which our future teacher at the Seminary in St. Louis expressed himself very definitely with regard to the so-called modern amusements, including the theater.

While serving as president of the Fort Wayne college, an office he held since the institution had been founded, Sihler visited our classes and sometimes gave us a test. But, of course, the difference in age was so great that we did not get in any way closer to him. However, we gathered from his sermons that he was an excellent, thorough theologian,

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a fact which is also clear from his publications. Besides his contributions to our periodicals, he published three volumes of sermons, *Postils on the Gospels and on the Epistles of the Church Year*, and a collection of occasional addresses. With his co-laborers in the Fort Wayne Pastoral Conference he was active in editing and publishing that excellent work which was well known to the older genera-



St. Paul's Church, Fort Wayne, 1880

tion of our pastors under the title *Perikopen*, and which Professor Craemer introduced to the reading public in *Lehre und Wehre* (I, 75, 211). It was a selection in German from the outstanding and elaborate Latin *Harmony of the Gospels* begun by Martin Chemnitz, continued by Polycarp Leyser, and finished by Johann Gerhard, and I may say that Sihler's sermons very definitely showed his intensive study of this great work. The German work was published in seven handy volumes and appeared from 1872 to 1878. In speaking

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of this work a somewhat humorous incident comes to my mind. At a convention of our church body an old and highly respected minister of our Church had preached on the Gospel of the Sunday, and Sihler, in his outspoken way, after the sermon remarked to him: "Pastor —, today you have plowed with my heifer," implying that this pastor had used his postil in his presentation. But this pastor, not abashed, answered: "No, Doctor, I have plowed with the same calf with which you have plowed," and Sihler began to smile and did not take it at all amiss.

As indicated above, Sihler really was a father to his parishioners, and he showed that very plainly in his pastoral visits, sometimes perhaps doing things which would be considered rather out of place nowadays. I have it on good authority that when he called on the younger families of his congregation, he also admonished the women to be very faithful in their daily tasks of housekeeping, and sometimes, when shaking hands with them, he also examined their hands rather closely to find out whether they showed the marks of the necessary work in their household, like dishwashing and other menial tasks. And in his sermons he pursued the same course. I know that on one occasion he had prepared a very important sermon on married life for the second Sunday after Epiphany on the Gospel of the wedding at Cana. But it so happened that a heavy rain-storm kept many of his people from church. However, he wanted to have this sermon go home to all the members, and therefore he substituted another sermon and announced that he would preach the sermon originally prepared for that Sunday on some other occasion.

Although he was a stern man, he was never self-willed

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and obstinate, but willing to confess his shortcomings when they were brought to his attention. He was a humble Christian in spite of all his learning and ability. It once happened that he had hurt the feelings of a student at the Seminary when he was still lecturing regularly. Riding home — Dr. Sihler was very fond of riding — his conscience told him that he had not done the right thing, and so he returned at once, sought the one whom he had hurt, and with tears in his eyes asked for his forgiveness.

His first assistant, and later on the pastor of the second-oldest church in Fort Wayne, Immanuel, was Pastor W. Stubnatzy, also one of the very able and faithful men who had studied in the Practical Seminary in the first years of its existence. One day, when announcements for the Lord's Supper were received at the parsonage, Sihler went into Stubnatzy's room and said rather excitedly: "There is a woman announcing herself, stating that she had received Communion from you; but she doesn't know anything of the Christian doctrine. How could you admit her to Communion?" Stubnatzy went down with Sihler to the room where the woman was sitting and said: "Doctor, I shall now examine her." And he began. The woman had indeed a rather meager knowledge of the Christian truth, but she knew the most necessary and essential things. She had become afraid when Sihler examined her and did not well understand him. Then, after she had left, Stubnatzy told Sihler that his actions had not been right and brotherly. With what result? Sihler at once confessed his wrong, thanked Stubnatzy for his brotherly admonition, and nothing like that happened again.

Gradually the time approached when Sihler felt that he

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was getting too old and could no longer serve his congregation as it should be served, even if he had such an excellent co-worker in Pastor Sauer; he therefore entertained the thought of resigning his office. At that time Pastor Sauer wrote to Pastor J. H. Jox in Logansport, Indiana: "You undoubtedly have heard it more than once from Dr. Sihler himself that it was a horrible thought for him to stay in office one day longer when he could no longer really be of service to the church. He quite often spoke words of censure when he heard of old ministers who were not able to lead their congregations any more and still remained in office." Sihler, therefore, in the last years of his life not only asked Pastor Sauer, but also individual members of his church, whether he was still mentally and physically able to continue in office. In the year of his death he requested Pastor Sauer to ask the congregation whether they also would not consider it best that he resign. But the congregation, mindful of his many years of faithful work and the close and cordial relationship between its members and the senior pastor, was not ready to encourage him to resign, but made it easier for him by requesting only one sermon a month. But one forenoon, while delivering a confessional sermon, he suffered physical weakness, and when Pastor Sauer offered to take over the afternoon sermon, Sihler with his iron will insisted on preaching. However, when he stepped down from the pulpit, he said: "That was my last sermon." The next day he wrote his letter of resignation, and the congregation accepted it. This physical weakness increased, and his last days were days of pain. But then especially his childlike faith appeared. A few days before his demise he wrote a letter to Pastor Jox, who

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always had been very close to him, thanking him for his letters of consolation and adding: "There are many personal and official sins in my life, heavy sins, which God has now revealed to me and brought more severely home to my conscience [schaerfer ins Gewissen gerueckt]. . . . But now I am also very anxious to find comfort in passages like John 5:24; Rom. 8:31, 32; 2 Cor. 5:19-21; Is. 53:4-6, and others. I trust that God, according to His grace, will continue to keep me patient until the end. Particularly important for me is Romans 8, where God assures us that He did not spare His own Son, but gave Him for us. To these I belong, I am a little part of the world which according to John 3:16 God has loved so intensely."

His last words on the day of his death addressed to Pastor Sauer were: "Now I am going home, Christ is my life," and late in the evening he called his wife, and with a dying, lisping voice he said: "Remain with Christ." That was his last word. In the early morning of October 27, 1885, he passed away, "*sanft und stille*," as a record has it, at the age of almost 84 years. On October 30 he was buried. The President of our church body, Pastor H. C. Schwan of Cleveland, preached on Heb. 13:7, Pastor Jox, his close friend, on Phil. 1:21, and the next Sunday Pastor Sauer delivered a memorial sermon on 2 Cor. 1:12.²⁾

CHAPTER IV. — The Father and Spokesman
of Our Foreign Missions:
Ferdinand Sievers



AMONG THE FRANCONIAN FATHERS who were sent to America by Pastor W. Loehe of Germany in those decisive years of 1842 to 1850 was Pastor Ferdinand Sievers, perhaps not such an outstanding theologian like Craemer and Sihler, but firmly rooted in the Gospel, and a very interesting, self-sacrificing, and lovable personality, not very well known outside Michigan, where he spent all his life, but one who should not be forgotten.

Sievers was not a Franconian like Ernst, Burger, Craemer, Lochner, Hattstaedt, Trautmann, and Graebner, but like Roebbelen, a Hanoverian. He was born May 18, 1816, and since both of his parents died while he was still a child, he was reared by his uncle, a pastor in the city of Hanover. Unfortunately, however, this parsonage was rationalistic, as were also the teachers at the University of Goettingen, where Sievers studied for three and a half years under such eminent scholars and influential men as Ewald, Luecke, Gieseler. But he also studied in Berlin and Halle, and most likely was influenced in those days by Hengstenberg in Berlin and by Tholuck in Halle; but he acknowledged later that he first received a clear understanding of sound Lutheran doctrine in the Missouri Synod, especially through Dr. Walther. While he was private tutor in the home of the

well-to-do and influential mining councilor ("Bergrat") Koch in Gruenenplan, he read the flaming appeal of Pastor Frederick Wyneken: "The sad plight of the German Lutherans in North America, brought home to the hearts of their brethren in the faith in the homeland," supplemented by private letters. In one of them Wyneken said in his



Ferdinand Sievers

drastic manner: "What miserable men [Subjekte] must those candidates be who have heard of this great need, have as yet no permanent call in Germany, cannot excuse themselves on account of sickness, and still do not offer their services? I cannot understand how they can continue to let themselves be seen in decent society and not betray their guilty consciences by a continual blush. Why, they should step forth by the

dozens, and the rich should band together to support them. Indeed, at such a time of need an appeal like this should so touch the rich that they should be afraid that every dainty morsel which they eat at their costly parties would stick in their throats through a just judgment of God, because they waste such things while thousands are suffering spiritual death." ¹⁾

This appeal was re-echoed also in Hanover by leading personalities like Dr. Petri, and since Loehe was at the head

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of the entire movement to help North America, Sievers got in touch with him, and, being a gifted, well-educated, and faithful young man, he was chosen by Loehe in 1847 to lead another group of colonists to the Saginaw Valley, assisted by two deacons, one a gravedigger and the other a carpenter. Craemer had preceded him in 1845 and founded Frankenmuth, and Graebner had come in 1847 and founded Frankentrost. Sievers sailed to America with Candidate Brauer and Teacher Pinkepank, and since his small congregation, because of the fraudulent actions of a ship agent, was sailing on another boat, he held services and taught the people in the steerage of his own boat during the nine weeks' voyage. Being a disciple of Loehe in liturgics, he always wore his gown and used the complete liturgy, although Candidate Brauer and Teacher Pinkepank were the only ones who could sing the responses. Concerning the instruction in the Catechism ("Christenlehre"), Brauer as an eye- and ear-witness, reports the following somewhat amusing incident: "Looking out from my berth on the first Sunday afternoon at two o'clock, I saw that Sievers was again putting on his gown just as for the morning service. He announced to us that we would now hold an examination in the Catechism. I could not understand: how? where? with whom? Sievers knew. Instead of going to the deck, he went directly into the steerage, where all the emigrants were in their beds. The people looked at us dumbfounded. Having reached the center of the group, Sievers stood still and began to sing the liturgy. At first we hesitated with the response, but we soon got into the proper swing. Eagerly we waited for what would happen next. Sievers then stepped up to the individual berths and

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questioned those who lay in them. They jumped up in a frightened manner and answered as much as they knew. But, strange to say, no one became insolent or impudent — a kind of fear had come over them. We then concluded with prayer and benediction. I was overcome with amazement at such courage and success. Sievers was soon to find out, however, that his well-meant attempt was not to have any further success. When we stepped through the door on the following Sunday, and the people became aware of the procession and the gown, and thought of what was to happen next, a universal emigration and flight to the upper deck began. Whoever was able to save himself did so via the hatchway, and only the sick and the crippled, who could not flee, stayed behind. Of these only one would give an answer. After this the examinations were discontinued.”²³

After their arrival in New York, Sievers journeyed via Buffalo and Detroit to Frankenmuth, and there he learned that his own congregation had arrived safely in New York, but that it had broken up along the way. He got to see only a small number of them again, and these wanted to stay in Frankenmuth. Therefore Sievers also remained as assistant to Pastor Craemer.

In 1848 he received news from Loehe that more colonists would be coming, and he was given an order to buy \$2,000 worth of land for the colony Frankenlust and several pieces of land in Saginaw. This he did, and land was acquired about ten miles from Saginaw near the small river Squaquaning, on low land in the center of a virgin forest. Dr. Sihler once said: “Frankenlust is horrible.” He would not want to be buried there. But the land has been drained

long ago and now is and has been for years a beautiful, productive, and prosperous farming district.

In this place Sievers experienced very hard times and led a truly pioneer life. He had to take care and give an account of everything. When sickness, especially the "fever," broke out, he had to serve as pastor, doctor, and attendant to the sick. Besides this he had to do difficult work in connection with the cultivation of the land and in the building of houses and related tasks. At one time he himself was afflicted with a high fever and had to be taken care of by the doctor at Frankenmuth, 25 miles away. He was brought to Saginaw on the boat of the colony, a voyage of two and a half days. For weeks he hovered between life and death, but finally recovered. A second colony, Amelith, was founded in this neighborhood in the year 1850. Sievers' future father-in-law, the "Bergrat" Koch, assisted Sievers in word and deed when in the year 1850 he gave him his daughter Caroline Koch in marriage. He himself took her to America and later published an interesting booklet on the Franconian settlements in the Saginaw Valley. And here in Saginaw and in Bay County, Sievers worked from 1848 until his death in 1893, a period of forty-five years. The settlements grew; not only Franconians but also Hanoverians and other German immigrants came. In a cholera epidemic of 1852 Sievers went about his tasks with great courage even in the face of death; he cared for the sick both spiritually and physically. His poor young wife often did not know how he was getting along or whether or not he might perhaps be lying helpless and forsaken in the woods. At one time he himself became very sick and bade

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farewell to his wife and child, but also this time he recovered.

Sievers' significant and important work in his office was always more of a practical nature, and the printed report which Loehe gave of him in the year 1852 holds good for his entire activity in office. Loehe wrote: "The crown of the colony is the faithful pastor, with his conscientious and fervent fulfillment of his duties, with his heart full of love and faithfulness, with his gifts and skill — and, what is not to be forgotten, with his timely good deeds, which he from his own property and from the hand of others used for the external affairs of his congregation."³⁾ There are also other instances which show that Loehe thought very highly of Sievers, and the black-bordered, important, and remarkable letter in which in 1853 Loehe took formal leave of the Franconian colonists in the Saginaw Valley was addressed to him. This letter, covering ten pages, is in my hands, and I am adding in the interest of history a photostatic copy of the first and of the last words.⁴⁾ In my early years I myself was more than once a witness of his generosity, since the two parsonages at Frankenmuth and Frankenlust were always very close to each other and later on became related through a double marriage of the children. I may say that sometimes he seemed to be too openhanded, which was then misused by unscrupulous persons. And more than once he canceled the salary deficit of his congregation at the end of the year.

Sievers, however, must be kept in mind especially as a missionary. In this respect he stands almost on an even plane with Wyneken among the fathers of our Church. Working out of Frankenlust, he founded and served

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not only Amelith, but also the congregation in Saginaw, although after holding two services in his own congregation he had to walk eleven miles through a pathless forest in order to be able to preach in the evening in Saginaw, which at that time was very sparsely settled. His father-in-law presented him with a horse for Christmas, and then he was able to ride to Saginaw on this historic "Schimmel," and the people waited patiently until they saw the "Schimmel" coming. And what flourishing congregations Franklust, Amelith, and Saginaw are today! Later Bay City (or "Lower Saginaw," as it was called at that time) was added, and he also served this place until 1865. Thus he did mission work in his entire neighborhood. The congregation in Monitor was founded by him and also the congregation in Town Beaver. But, above all, he undertook journeys to far-off places. Commissioned by our Synod, he visited Cincinnati as early as 1850, where Pastor Theodore Wichmann was serving, and in 1851 he traveled to Marquette County in northern Michigan. In August and September, 1856, he visited Minnesota as the first pastor of our church body there, although three other Lutheran ministers had preceded him in 1855. Family conditions made it particularly difficult for him to leave his home at the time. But he tore himself away, and when his wife stepped into his room after his departure, she found the following words of the Bible written in his own hand lying on his desk: "Verflucht sei, der des Herrn Werk laessig tut" ("Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully [negligently]"), Jer. 48:10. On this missionary journey, undertaken chiefly in the interest of a new mission among the Indians, but also with a view to home mission work among scattered

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Lutherans, he visited St. Cloud and St. Anthony, north of St. Paul. In Minneapolis he organized a small congregation, Trinity, and also one farther up on the Minnesota River, where he found a large settlement of Lutherans. He was at St. Peter and in Faribault and finally in Red Wing, and must be considered the pioneer of our Church in Minnesota. The accommodations on board the steamship and on the mail carriage were at that time very primitive, and, carrying a heavy traveling bag, he covered many miles on foot even in bad weather and though he was not in the best of health.⁵⁾

Especially remarkable is the journey which he made from Frankenlust to northern Michigan in 1865, accompanied by his two oldest sons and the two theological students Henry Partenfelder and Adolf Biewend. His two sons, Frederick and Bernard, who were at that time twelve and thirteen years old respectively, later became well-known ministers. Afterwards Partenfelder was pastor in Bay City and Biewend in Boston. They journeyed by way of Big Rapids and Reed City, in the center of the State. A congregation was organized, and then Sievers decided to press on with his companions to Traverse City, located on Grand Traverse Bay on Lake Michigan, about ninety miles away. (Bay City is situated on the Saginaw Bay of Lake Huron.) They had to proceed through a virgin forest, carrying their food supplies and books. Not a living soul was sighted, not even wild life, at most, tracks of deer and wolves. They followed a narrow Indian trail, had to cross rivers, and eventually lost their way. Their food supply gave out, all the berry bushes were plucked clean, and on a Sunday morning their last piece of bread was shared. They wan-



Indian Mission Station in Bethany, Near St. Louis, Mich.



Indian Mission Chapel at Bethany

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dered around in the forest, hungry, tired, and weary. Apparently they were going around in a circle, and thus they came back to a place where they had been before. Anxiously they looked around for the bacon with which they had greased their shoes a few days ago, but without success. At noon they said their table prayer, but had nothing to eat. Family devotions were held at every mealtime; even the Small Catechism was recited. Evening was already approaching. The young sons of Sievers could go no farther. Then Biewend and Partenfelder decided to make one last attempt to find human beings. They left their packs and the father with his two sons behind, and at last came to a clearing where they saw a house in the distance. Returning, they found Sievers and his sons singing funeral hymns. It was a settlement at which they had already been. In their wandering they had gone backward and forward, around in circles, and now finally came back to the starting point. On the next day Sievers preached a sermon and held "Christenlehre," instruction in the Catechism, and an evening service. But Traverse City was not given up. He decided to cross Lake Michigan and go to Milwaukee. So they went to Grand Rapids and to Grand Haven on the lake, then to Milwaukee, sailed back over the lake, and visited cities where we now also have congregations, for instance, Leland and Traverse City. In the following year Sievers undertook a journey to Iowa, where he also found Lutherans, who were then served from Dubuque.⁶¹

And, finally, Sievers must not be forgotten as a promoter of mission work among the Indians of North America and as an untiring advocate and supporter of mission work among the heathen in foreign countries. Already in 1851

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Sievers was elected president of the Mission Board of our Church, and a more faithful supporter and intercessor the missions could not have obtained. It would take too long



Indian Cemetery in Michigan

to speak about the Indian Mission in Bethany near St. Louis, Mich., where Baierlein and later Miessler served, and how often Sievers rode through the pathless forests to visit it.

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At times he even lived right among the Indians, and there are still sermons extant which he delivered to them through an interpreter. Neither was there any lack of humorous incidents. Pastor Joseph Schmidt of Saginaw, for many years a neighboring pastor of Sievers, reports the following: "Just as Sievers served the Indians by preaching, so he served them also with a school. But all pedagogical systems of instruction were completely ruined by the Indian children who attended the school. To instruct and keep this wild horde in check was no small matter. Every opportunity to interrupt that disagreeable session was greeted with shouts of joy. Let us just describe one such scene. At one time a young bear was being kept on a chain at the mission station. Somehow this bear tore loose and headed straight into the kitchen, where he investigated all the cooking pots, and no blows and beatings from the housewife were able to drive out the little invader. She runs to the school to get a boy to help her. But hardly has the word come over her lips when the whole band rises up with a whoop of eagerness for battle such as only Indian children can utter. No word of command is heeded. In a trice the entire band is outside. The freedom of the bear was soon brought to an end, but so was also what little bit of order there might have been left in the kitchen." 7)

Since there were tribes related to the Chippewa Indians of Michigan in Minnesota, Sievers, in the interest of mission work among them, traveled, in 1856, as stated above, to Crow Wing, Minn., to start a new station. This was 1,100 miles from Frankenlust and the farthest outpost of civilization. Pastor Ottmar Cloeter, Sr., later became missionary to these Indians. In 1868 Sievers repeated the visit.

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When Indian mission work finally had to be given up by our Synod in 1868, he still retained his interest for, and a faithful devotion to, this branch of the work. He saw to it that the old Indian Cemetery in Bethany was kept in good condition, and even today it is cared for by the members of our Church in the Saginaw Valley.

As chairman of the board for mission work among the heathen, Sievers corresponded with missionaries in Asia, Africa, and Australia, and it was through his incentive that the Michigan District urged General Synod again and again to begin mission work in a foreign country. For many years his efforts were in vain, and his appeals in season and out of season were turned down. I remember distinctly that at one of the District meetings he began his admonition with the well-known and oft-repeated words of the Roman statesman Cato, saying again and again, "*Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*" (Moreover, I hold that Carthage should be destroyed), and then applied the first words of this quotation, "*Ceterum censeo*," to the urgency of beginning work among a Gentile people. Others would have been discouraged after having failed some forty years. But not Sievers. Prayer for the heathen was an integral part of his daily prayer, as I remember very well, having so often been in his home and at his table. And finally, shortly before his death in 1893, Synod resolved to begin mission work among the heathen, elected a board for foreign missions, and instructed it to begin this work. At first it was thought best to begin in Japan, but later, in 1894, when two missionaries from the Leipzig Mission in India, Naether and Mohn, came to us, mission work was begun in that country. Sievers at this time was suffering much from his sickness

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(cancer of the liver), but after the news reached Frankenthal, he still wrote thirty-six letters pertaining to this matter. And when a few days later, in May, 1893, he celebrated his birthday in the circle of his friends, he thanked God for this resolution of Synod as a precious birthday present. His last audible prayer on the day before his death closed with the words: "Lord, have mercy upon the poor heathen, and help them so that they may acknowledge Thee, their Savior, and with us be saved. Especially stay at my side and lead me out of this vale of tears into eternal life. Amen."

I cannot enter into his manifold and faithful activities as pastor and shepherd of his flock, especially at sickbeds, and as a member of Synod. Neither can I discuss his regular attendance at conferences, nor the love and advice which he extended to younger brethren in the service. In 1893, a short time before I went to St. Louis, I saw him for the last time at a conference. Despite the fact that he was at this time already a very sick man, he still wrote to Pastors Partenfelder in Bay City and Schmidt in Saginaw in August of that year when they celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversary in the office. He reminded Partenfelder of the time when they got lost in Michigan and exclaimed: "*Nec aspera terrent*," "not even rough experiences may deter," and to Schmidt he wrote: "*Per noctem ad sidera*," "through night to the stars."

Also the example he gave in his life as an ideal husband and exemplary father would deserve special consideration. I could relate more than one instance. His cultured wife, Caroline Koch, whose life I treat in another chapter of this book, stood faithfully at his side during the early years of

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privation and never complained, although she was brought up under entirely different conditions. The way in which he conducted the daily family devotions is unforgettable. Besides singing a chorale, a chapter of the Bible was read, every member of the family reading a verse from his own Bible; one of the chief parts of the Catechism was recited according to Luther's admonition, and the devotions closed with a touching *ex corde* prayer for the family, the guests present, the Church and its activities and needs. If the devotions seemed too long according to present economic conditions, there was time for it in a country parsonage. Four of his sons entered the ministry: besides Frederick and Bernard, also Ferdinand, Jr., and Gottlieb; and the first three died in the ministry, while the fifth son had to give up his studies because of sickness and became a businessman in Chicago. Of his three daughters the oldest one, Johanna, did not marry and died a number of years ago; the second daughter, Agnes, married Pastor Peter Andres, a successor of her father in Frankenlust, and the youngest daughter, Caroline, was married to my brother and is living in widowhood in Saginaw. It was also a remarkable trait in Pastor Sievers' character that he always informed his family about church and synodical affairs, more so perhaps than any minister I have known, and his hospitality was well known in Michigan. His peaceful and blessed end came on September 9, 1893, and his last audible words were "Lord, my Savior." He found a last resting place among his members in the church cemetery in Frankenlust, on the spot where forty-five years before he had erected a little log parsonage. On his tombstone I have read again

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and again the words: "My servant Moses is faithful in all Mine house," Num. 12:7; Heb. 3:2, 5. The funeral sermons were preached by his friends and neighbors of many years' standing, Pastors Schmidt and Partenfelder. The former also wrote a beautiful sketch of his life, to which I am indebted for some of the details in this memoir.⁸⁾

CHAPTER V. — Three Unforgettable Mothers
in Israel:

Caroline Sievers

Susanna Sihler

Dorothea Craemer



IN THESE DAYS when many in our Church think and ask about the “days that are past” and “sayings of old which our fathers have told us,” Deut. 4:32; Ps. 78:2, 3, I have more than once been requested to say something of the women to whom our Saxon and Franconian fathers were married. Now, it is a fact that not very much is known of them in wider circles. They lived a quiet, retired life and attended to their calling as wives and mothers. They were an example to the women of their churches and often ministered to them in a quiet way in more than one respect. They did not have so much time nor so much money as the women in general have nowadays. Their housework demanded much more time and labor than at present, particularly if they had four, six, eight, or even more children. Remembering my own boyhood days, I recount what was true more or less of all the parsonages. As long as she lived, Mother had to do all the baking for the family. One could not buy bread or cake anywhere. How about the sewing? Mother also took care of that, not only of the shirts, blouses, and underwear, but also of the suits. I think I was at least ten or eleven years



Five Cousins of the Buenger Family in Their Homemade Dresses

From left to right, sitting: Emma Buenger, daughter of Cantor Theodore Buenger, Chicago, later married to Prof. C. Haentzschel, instructor at Concordia Teachers' College, Addison, Ill. Julia Walther, daughter of Dr. C. F. W. Walther and Emilie, nee Buenger, St. Louis, Mo., later married to Pastor J. H. Niemann, Cleveland, Ohio. — From left to right, standing: Coelestine Buenger, daughter of Pastor J. F. Buenger, St. Louis, Mo. Died at age 19. Marie Neumueller, daughter of Clementine Neumueller, nee Buenger, later married to Pastor G. W. Bruegmann, Nashville, Ill. Mathilda Buenger, daughter of Druggist H. W. Buenger, St. Louis, Mo., as Mrs. Kunz later married to Pastor Th. Miessler, Des Peres, Mo. A sixth cousin was Renata Fuerbringer, daughter of Pastor O. Fuerbringer and Agnes, nee Buenger, Frankenmuth, Mich., later married to Pastor K. L. Moll, Detroit, Mich. The picture must have been taken toward the end of the sixties or at the beginning of the seventies

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old when I got my first suit, a "montur" according to the Franconian dialect, from a store. It was a Christmas present from my good godmother in Frankenmuth, Mrs. Barbara Hubinger, in her young days an adherent of Pastor Loehe. She adopted me as her godchild after her daughter, Margaret, my sponsor, had died when I was only two years old, and, until I was confirmed, she never failed to remember me at Christmas and Easter. I do not remember that my sisters ever bought a dress; they sewed their own clothes with the help of Mother; perhaps in extraordinary cases they engaged a seamstress if one was available. What the ministers' wives did in charitable and benevolent work hardly ever became known in wider circles. No meetings were held, hardly any organizations were effected, except in city congregations a "Frauerverein" or "Naehverein," a ladies' aid or a sewing circle. Nothing appeared in print. My aunt Catherine Buenger, the wife of the youngest of the four Buenger brothers, the druggist Hermann Buenger in St. Louis, told me that when her brother-in-law, Pastor J. Friedrich Buenger, the founder of the hospital in St. Louis and of the Orphans' Home near St. Louis, needed something for these institutions, he came to her and said: "Catherine, we need this, and we need that; see to it that we get it." And he got it without much ado. Particularly of the privations and sufferings of these "Pfarrfrauen" not much became known. Quite frequently they lived amid the most primitive surroundings and in small and very unsuitable parsonages. For the sake of the Gospel they bore willingly what they had to bear. Those times were different from ours. And I often think that the Father "who seeth in secret" must have richly rewarded these faithful helpmeets



Holy Cross "Frauenverein" in the Late Seventies

From left to right: Mrs. G. Stoeckhardt, Mrs. G. Schaller, Mrs. A. Gast, Mrs. G. Volk, Mrs. Chr. Heinz, Mrs. C. F. W. Walther, Mrs. E. F. W. Meyer, Mrs. G. Steinmeyer, Mrs. J. G. Schumann, Mrs. Aug. B. Tschierpe, Mrs. J. T. Schuricht, Mrs. L. Lange, Mrs. F. W. Barthel, Mrs. H. Kalbfleisch

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of our pastors, Matt. 6:1-4. In a recent number of the *Cresset* my colleague Dr. W. G. Polack wrote an engaging sketch of his mother in which he substantiates many of my statements and adds other observations from her life although she passed away fifty years after my mother.

Still I may say that I have learned to know a few things about some of these "mothers in Israel," have read a number of letters written by or about them, and, above all, had some personal contact with them, so that I am able to recount some particulars. They have all gone to their reward many years ago, but they have made a deep impression on me. There is some truth in the adage that sometimes ministers' wives are the making or the breaking of their husbands. I could mention examples. But the great majority of those whom I have met, while not making their husbands, assisted them in their office in many ways, and but few broke them.

I am now thinking especially of four: Mrs. Caroline Sievers, Mrs. Susanna Sihler, Mrs. Dorothea Craemer, and, above all, my own mother, Agnes Buenger Fuerbringer. Since I have spoken of her in an earlier volume, I shall here restrict myself to the first three.

CAROLINE SIEVERS

She is the one whom I knew best of the three, because our family was very closely connected with the Sievers family, and Frankenmuth, where I was born and lived for almost thirty years, was only twenty-five miles from Frankenlust, the home of Pastor and Mrs. Ferdinand Sievers, where they spent all their life, Pastor Sievers from 1848 to 1893 and Mrs. Sievers from 1850 to 1904.

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She was born in Germany, the daughter of aristocratic and highly educated parents, "Bergrat" (mining councilor) and Mrs. Frederick Koch. They lived in Gruenenplan, not very far from Brunswick, and gave their children a very good education. The "Hauslehrer," or private tutor, in their home in the forties of the last century was Ferdinand Sievers, who in this way became acquainted with their daughter Caroline. Whether he also taught her, I do not know, but when he emigrated in 1847 as one of the ministerial candidates selected by Pastor Wilhelm Loehe for the Franconian settlements in Michigan, he asked for the hand of Caroline, either while still in Germany or very early in his ministry in Michigan. I have reason to assume that at first the parents did not very much favor the idea of sending their beloved daughter into the American wilderness, but she was willing to go and, being a devout Christian, also considered it her duty to be a helpmeet to the pioneer missionary and a "Pfarrfrau," a pastor's wife, for his flock. So Bergrat Koch himself took his daughter to America in 1850. Pastor Sievers met them in New York, the young couple were married by Pastor Brohm, then in charge of old Trinity Congregation in that city, and the wedding dinner was given at Hotel Delmonico, a number of pastors being present on that



Mrs. F. Sievers

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occasion. The father-in-law had stipulated that a suitable parsonage should be built before his daughter would come to America, for which he furnished the means. Being quite well to do, he also bought a large tract of land, in fact a whole township, to be sold in the course of time to colonists. Therefore the township was named, and is still called, Kochville. Besides a part of Frankenlust, also the congregation in Amelith is located in that township. While the Frankenlust church is located in Bay County, with Bay City as the county seat, Kochville belongs to Saginaw County, in which Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, and the city of Saginaw are located, the latter city and county seat being only about ten miles from Frankenlust. Koch also wrote a little pamphlet on the settlements in the Saginaw Valley, which is one of the sources for the history of some of the Franconian settlements. He spent about half a year in this country, traveled considerably, and was overwhelmed by its unlimited possibilities. Since he was interested in mining, he also visited the Lake Superior region as one of the early white men in that section, and he intended to bring his miners from Germany and found a large mining establishment. But not long after his return to Germany he was stricken, and all plans came to nought. One of his descendants in America sometimes made the humorous remark that if these plans had matured, they probably would all be millionaires.

But what kind of place was Frankenlust as a home for such a well-educated young girl, brought up in very favorable surroundings and having had all the conveniences of a well-to-do family?

Frankenlust was the third Franconian colony founded

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by Pastor Loehe, and while Frankenmuth and Frankentrost were located very favorably, this could hardly be said of Frankenlust. Parts of it were lowlands, and the river Squaquaning was not at all beautiful. It was overgrown with weeds and more of a creek or morass, so that if the Sievers children wanted to bathe, they had to clean the river every summer. Dr. Sihler, as indicated in the preceding chapter, is said to have remarked: "In Frankenlust moechte ich nicht begraben sein," I would not like to be buried in Frankenlust. Of course, all this has been changed, and Frankenlust is now a very attractive and prosperous settlement, but, knowing it from the seventies and eighties of the last century, I can well imagine that it must have been a rather dreary place when it was founded. Everything was very primitive. But Mrs. Sievers did not mind that. With heart and soul she took up the work of a "Pfarrfrau" and was throughout her life a shining example and, I might say, a mother to the women of the church, assisting and supporting her husband and taking an active interest in the welfare of the church in general and in the local congregation in particular. But she also maintained her station in life as an educated and cultured woman. In no wise did she sink to a lower level, although she was always willing to do very menial work. She kept up her reading, not only of the church papers and religious books, but also of general literature. She knew her Goethe and Schiller. As indicated above, her father had built a stately and comfortable house for his daughter, sometimes called "das weisse Schloss," the white castle, in which I was her guest quite often as a boy and young man; it was still in good condition when I looked at it in August, 1945. He also built

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the first church in Frankenlust. She was always very hospitable, particularly to traveling missionaries and ministers. Just to mention one instance. When Missionaries Zorn and Zucker left the Leipzig Mission in India and joined the Missouri Synod, they came to America, and Zorn visited Pastor Sievers, the father and indefatigable friend of Foreign Missions. According to German custom, Zorn, when retiring, put his shoes outside his room, and the first thing that he saw in the morning from his window was Mrs. Sievers shining his boots!

The family life in the Sievers parsonage was ideal. All the children were well educated and well behaved and loved their mother as only devoted children can. The custom in the morning and, as it were, the first call to breakfast when guests were in the house consisted in Pastor Sievers' playing and singing a chorale, particularly a morning hymn. One child after the other joined him, the guests came into the study and took part, and finally it was a regular chorus, while Mrs. Sievers was busy preparing the breakfast. As a regular mother in Israel she stands before my eyes. Even when I had left Michigan, I visited her several times, until she was called home on Ascension Day, May 12, 1904, ten years after her husband had passed away, after a rich and blessed life.

SUSANNA SIHLER

Mrs. Susanna Sihler was born September 30, 1829, at Klein-Weisach in Bavaria, came with her parents, brothers, and sisters to America in 1835, and settled in Ohio, not far from Columbus. Her father was a farmer in comfortable circumstances, as far as I know, but her education was

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rather poor. She learned to read and write in a public school, since there was no Christian day school or Lutheran minister in that neighborhood. Also in the home of her parents she did not receive much Christian teaching, since her father was brought up in rationalism and her mother, a descendant of one of the Salzburger families, knew Bible verses and hymns by heart, but also did not practice their precepts very much. Both were chiefly interested in their daily work as farmers. But although Susanna lacked Christian training, she diligently read the Bible and one of the old hymnbooks of our Church. However, she did not learn the distinction between Law and Gospel, lived under the Law, and did not become sure of the forgiveness of sins through Christ. Things became different when Pastor Adam Ernst, one of the first emis-



Mrs. W. Sihler

saries, or missionaries, of Pastor Loehe, came to America in 1842, visited the settlement, and was called as minister and preached the pure Gospel of the grace of God in Christ. And particularly in confirmation instruction, when the Second Article of the Christian faith was explained, Susanna became sure of the forgiveness of her sins through faith in Christ and became a happy Christian.

But the story of how she became Mrs. Sihler is rather

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unique and is told in quite an interesting way in Dr. Sihler's autobiography and in a beautiful little sketch written by her second daughter.¹⁾ Sihler knew Pastor Ernst and had even before this written him and asked him to help him to get a wife, and Pastor Ernst had answered that he had in his congregation a young girl who would be very well qualified to become a minister's spouse, the daughter of an immigrant farmer from Franconia by the name of Kern. And after the St. Louis meeting Sihler went with Pastor Ernst to the latter's congregation in Neuendettelsau, Union County, Ohio, to make her acquaintance. When Sihler received Pastor Ernst's reply stating that the father of that young woman was quite well-to-do, he did not care much about this matter, but what Ernst had written of her character, especially the words which he used, that she was "von sanftem und stillem Geiste," of a meek and quiet spirit, 1 Pet. 3:4, impressed him favorably, the more so since he himself knew that he had a rather irritable and irascible temperament and, according to his own confession, was not as yet to such a degree under the dominion of God's grace and the Holy Spirit as he desired to be. He therefore thought that this young woman might be the one whom the Lord had destined to become his wife. At that time he was already forty-four years old, and Susanna Kern only sixteen, twenty-eight years younger than he, but neither he nor she minded this, nor did it ever interfere with a happy married and family life. But there was still one difficulty. Pastor Ernst had broached the matter to Susanna's parents, and, being very upright and honest, he had described Sihler as he knew him. Susanna's mother was at once willing to give her daughter to him, but the father objected, saying

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that he did not want his daughter to marry a minister; she would have to suffer and die of hunger. However, when Sihler came to the place, Ernst encouraged him to make the acquaintance of the family, and on the following day Sihler visited the Kerns. I cannot enter into the details of this visit. It really reminds one of the Biblical stories of Rebekah and Rachel, and Sihler, although he describes the appearance of Susanna in his frank way and states that one could not call her a particularly beautiful girl, still he was impressed by her friendly though serious face and her maidenly and well-behaved manner, and very soon felt attached to her. Susanna felt the same way, although she knew that Sihler was much older than she and that, having traveled such a long way, he did not appear very attractive. But she was above all anxious to have a true Christian as husband. Everything else would be immaterial. Although still a young girl, she was an earnest Christian and had gone through serious spiritual experiences.

In view of her father's opposition to the marriage, Susanna did what a Christian girl should do. She prayed to God that if it should be His will that she marry Sihler, He would also change the attitude of her father. Without her father's consent she would not marry. And God heard her prayer. Without further ado the father consented, and so she was betrothed to Sihler. And since Sihler had been away three weeks from his congregation, he wanted the wedding to take place after a few days. The mother at first objected to such haste, stated that she had no dowry ready for her daughter, having just lately fitted out another daughter, not even a suitable wedding dress, to which argument Sihler responded in his characteristic way that any

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dress would do. The mother then gave in and said: "Well, then, in God's name so may it be." The wedding dress of Susanna was a new calico dress that had been bought some time before this for 75 cents, which Susanna had earned by doing some special work for her father, and Sihler in his biography states how much this pleased him, because he was averse to all the modern gewgaws, "Flitter- und Flatterwerk," and the inscription over the threshold to his house should be: "Let integrity and uprightness preserve me," Ps. 25:21. Pastor Ernst performed the ceremony, the wedding was a very simple affair, only a few neighbors being present. Susanna was not able to partake of the feast, but stole away to the orchard and prayed God to guide and lead her in His way and, above all, to help her never to be a hindrance to her husband in his work, but a help instead. The next day they started on their trip to Fort Wayne. Pastor Ernst accompanied them, hitching the horse with which Sihler had come from Dayton to his buggy and taking along his own horse. He and Sihler rode alternately on the horse. That was the first time Susanna rode in a buggy. There was not much of a trousseau; everything Susanna took along found room in Pastor Ernst's traveling bag. On the second day they arrived at Dayton, where Pastor Ernst left them, and instead of his traveling bag an old coffee bag served as the valise for the belongings of the bride. They were married on the 8th of June and arrived in Fort Wayne on the 12th day of the month.

So Mrs. Sihler became the *Pfarrfrau* of St. Paul's Church in Fort Wayne, and she was indeed a *Pfarrfrau* in the proper sense of the term. She took very good care of her husband, who passed to his eternal reward October 27, 1885, and of

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her increasing family. I may insert that she had nine children. All of them have passed away. The oldest son, Christian, was a well-known physician in Cleveland, the second son, Gottlieb, a distinguished classical scholar, who was graduated from our theological seminary in St. Louis in 1871, but chose a teaching career. After studying at Johns Hopkins University he went abroad and studied at Berlin University, and after teaching in private institutions spent a year as instructor at our Milwaukee Concordia College, and then became the head of the Latin Department of New York University. He remained a faithful member of our Church, and in his numerous publications confessed his Christian faith. Mrs. Sihler's oldest daughter, Marie, married a businessman in Rochester by the name of Margrander, the second daughter, Elizabeth, was a well-known teacher at girls' colleges and the author of *Against Odds* and of the manuscript story mentioned above, the third son, Frederick, was a member of the Meyer Brothers Drug Company, having married the daughter of the president of that firm; then followed Mrs. Johanna Lieberknecht, who for her family's sake changed her name to Mrs. Lee, the wife of a Baltimore banker, the fourth son, William, was graduated from our St. Louis Seminary in 1886, but also chose a teaching career and for many years was instructor in German and mathematics at the Norwegian Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. The fourth daughter, Lily, married a businessman in Adrian, Michigan, by the name of Bowerfind, and the youngest son, Carl, was a banker in Fort Wayne.

But I would especially stress Mrs. Sihler's influence on the women of St. Paul's Church. As far as I know, she or-

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ganized the *Frauenverein*, ladies' aid society, one of the oldest organizations of this kind in our Church, founded in 1852 and still in existence, and also took the lead in the *Naehverein*, sewing circle, for college students, an organization that is now called Martha Society and taking an active interest in the welfare of our Fort Wayne college. In former years, when the students were poor, the members of this "Naehverein" repaired their clothing and met regularly for that purpose at the college. While I hardly can say that I knew Mrs. Sihler personally in my college days, I still see her in my mind's eye as a regular and very attentive attendant at the services in St. Paul's Church. But in later years, when she was living in widowhood in Fort Wayne, I met her a number of times and was always impressed by her simple, devout Christianity, and her kind and gentle character — without any pretensions, always content, always looking to the best side of everything. I was acquainted with all her children with the exception of her oldest daughter, and some of them were my good friends, and I know how they loved her. And I know also from other women in Fort Wayne, friends of mine, how highly she was respected, how much influence she wielded without saying much. August 20, 1918, she was called to her eternal reward, after having lived in widowhood for thirty-three years, truly conforming to the description given of the widow in 1 Timothy 5. The history of her life is certainly an example to others.

DOROTHEA CRAEMER

Of Mrs. Craemer, the wife of the well-known pastor and leader of the Franconian emigrants who came to America in 1845 and founded the colony and mission station of Fran-

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kenmuth, Mich., I cannot say very much from personal acquaintance. As far as I can remember, I saw her only once, when she visited with my parents in Frankenmuth on the occasion of the dedication of the stately church in September, 1880, her husband preaching the dedicatory sermon. But I know so much of her faithful and self-denying work among the Indian children, of the high esteem and sincere love in which she was held by the members of the Frankenmuth congregation, of the service which she rendered for a number of years as housemother of the Seminary in Fort Wayne and St. Louis, that I am able to record some events in her life which should not be forgotten. Hardly anything is recorded in print.

Her maiden name was Ben-thien. The child of poor parents, she was born in Achim, Hanover, February 12, 1817. She passed to her eternal reward at Springfield on the 11th of November, 1884, at the age of 67 years. I do not know anything of her youth, but in 1845, together with her brother and his family and other Lutherans from Hanover, she emigrated to America and happened to be on the same boat which the emissaries of Pastor Loehe, Craemer, four candidates, and Craemer's little flock, had taken. The captain of the ship saw to it that these Hanoverians and the Franconian emigrants with



Mrs. A. Craemer

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their pastor and the candidates that were to serve the American Church had quarters together, and they naturally formed a little Lutheran ship congregation. When small-pox raged on the boat, there was much occasion for services of love which entailed trouble and danger, and Dorothea's ministrations were untiring, self-sacrificing. This caused one of the candidates — it was Friedrich Lochner — to speak to his intimate friend Craemer about her and call his attention to the fact that she might be a very fitting wife for him, who, still unmarried, felt that as pastor of a congregation and missionary to the Indians he should have a wife; she would surely take good care of the poor Indian children which he was expected to have in his home. Craemer followed this good and well-meant advice, but went about it in a very careful and unique way. He first asked her whether she would be willing to become a maid in the mission, and since she at once consented, he then asked for her hand. They were married in New York, and thus she came with her husband and his little congregation to the Indians on the Cass River in the forest primeval and helped found the first Franconian colony, Frankenmuth.

For five years she proved to be a faithful, careful, and indefatigable mother of the neglected Indian children. Pastor Lochner in his biography of Craemer draws a picture of her work when he says: "The first work when the Indian children were taken into the parsonage consisted in a cleaning process undertaken by the minister's wife. And such a process! It was not only necessary to remove the old and new dirt on the body, but also the lice with which the clothes teemed; this could not be accomplished in any other way than by boiling the clothes. When the young redskins

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came to the table and, according to their custom, at once helped themselves to their part of the food, she had much trouble to teach and accustom them to Christian table manners. And — if it would only have been sufficient to do such work once for all. But many a child that did not like such Christian training and order and longed too much for his former surroundings and for the paternal wigwam, ran away, and when he was called for or brought back after some time, the general cleaning mentioned before had to be taken up again, accustoming the child to manners and order, and the things already taught had to be repeated, because naturally everything learned in school had been forgotten. And this happened not only with run-aways, but also with children which were permitted temporarily to visit their parents living at some distance, who then extended the furlough from ten days to two and three months.”²⁾ And the room in the parsonage was very limited, since, besides sheltering the pastor’s family and the Indian children, the house had to provide living quarters for the interpreter and his family, and also the regular services were held there. Even later, in my boyhood days in Frankenmuth, we had in the parsonage a so-called “Indianer-bett,” a bed for Indians, which must have been made by a carpenter in the early days or soon thereafter, and the Indians considered the Frankenmuth parsonage for many years after the mission among them had ended as a place to get something to eat and find a night’s rest. I have slept in that bed many a time, and we kept it in the parsonage till my mother and I moved to St. Louis. But I have been told that, after all, the Indian children were very much attached to Mrs. Craemer.

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In 1850, when her husband accepted the call as theological professor in the Practical Seminary of our Church, she moved with him to Fort Wayne; ten years later, in 1860 to 1861, when the institution was combined with the theoretical seminary, to St. Louis, and finally, when the seminaries were again separated, in 1874—1875, to Springfield, Ill. But in both places, over ten years in Fort Wayne, and about twelve years in St. Louis, she served with the same faithfulness as matron of the commissary department of the institution, taking upon herself willingly such laborious and strenuous work. From what I have been told by persons who have long since passed away, Mrs. Craemer in those days of poverty drove with an attendant in a big wagon to the farmers in the surrounding country, protected against possible inclement weather by a heavy, somewhat antiquated coat and a big umbrella, and gathered victuals for the kitchen. Finally her strength gave way, and she was no longer able to perform such hard work. But as she had been “proved” in the labor of love, so now she was “tried and proved” in patience, writes her husband in a brief obituary that is in my files. Three years before her death, in the course of two months, three grown children, among them her one dearly beloved daughter and two grandchildren, died in succession. More and more her body, suffering many pains, weakened; only her spirit was firm in unshakable faith in her Savior. As in former years she had performed her laborious calling in a quiet way, so now, quiet and content in God, she carried the heavy burden of the cross. And she would have been willing to continue therein until the passing of her dearly beloved husband and not to leave him on earth as a lonely widower. But sud-

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denly the Lord called her out of all trouble into His heavenly rest. As she had lived in a quiet and simple way, so she also wanted to be buried in such a manner, being averse to all the pomp and display of many modern funerals.

Her only daughter, Marie, was married to Pastor F. W. Grumm in Iowa, where she died after a few years. Of her sons I knew three quite well: Lorenz, sometime pastor in Charlottesville, Va., Waverly and Fort Dodge, Iowa, and Huntley and Decatur, Ill., first President of our Iowa District in 1879; William, for some years schoolteacher and later on druggist in St. Louis; and Charles J., the godson of Professor Walther, a fellow student and good friend of mine, pastor in Webster City, Iowa, and New Orleans, housefather of our Orphan Home in College Point, N. Y., later in business in Milwaukee and the first Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Laymen's League. Her oldest son, Henry, who had learned the Chippewa language and as a boy had served at times as interpreter at the Indian mission stations in Michigan and even gone to Minnesota in that capacity, later was pastor of our church in Zanesville, Ohio, but on account of frail health went to California and died at an early age at Los Angeles in 1881.

CHAPTER VI. — Four Prominent Laymen
Among the Saxon Immigrants:
*C. E. Vehse, F. A. Marbach,
G. Pfau, F. W. Barthel*



IN THESE REMINISCENCES and brief contributions to the history of our Church in America I cannot refrain from going back to its very beginnings, the Saxon immigration to Missouri, 1838–1839, and the Franconian immigration centering in the Franconian settlements in Michigan, 1845–1851. And when we speak of the Saxon immigration, it is but natural that we at first think of the pastors, the candidates, and the teachers. But there were also a number of intelligent and prominent laymen among the immigrants — the scholar Dr. Carl Edward Vehse, the lawyer Dr. Adolph Marbach, the artist Gustav Pfau, the tax collector Frederick William Barthel, the merchants Fischer and Jaeckel, the Schuricht brothers, one of whom later served our Church many years as treasurer. In this chapter I shall single out four: the historian, the attorney, the artist, and the treasurer.

THE HISTORIAN

Dr. Carl Edward Vehse was undoubtedly a prominent scholar and historian. He was born in 1802 near Dresden and died in 1870. He became an adherent of Pastor Martin Stephan in Dresden and attended his services when he was “Archivar,” or, as the English records in New Orleans term

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it, "Recorder" in Dresden. He was educated as a lawyer, holding the title of Doctor Juris Utriusque, Doctor of Laws, but through his official position became very much interested in historical studies. Even before he came to this country, he had written *The Life and the Times of Emperor Otto the Great*, a book which passed through three editions. Later he published *Tables of History*. In 1833 he was appointed archivist of the state archives (Hauptstaatsarchiv) in Dresden, and, as his biographer states, the external conditions of his life had developed in a most happy way.¹⁾ For conscience' sake he relinquished his position and joined the emigrants. He became the president of the economic commission ("Wirtschaftskommission") and book-keeper ("Rechnungsfuehrer") of the emigrants, but resigned his position in the turbulent times that came for the emigrants in the spring of 1839. For ten months he remained in St. Louis and then returned to Germany. My mother, who knew him very well, since she had a position in his home in Dresden and took care of his only daughter when his wife died after a long illness, told me again and again that, being thoroughly disillusioned and dissatisfied with the whole emigration, Vehse struck his head and exclaimed: "O Doctor Juris Utriusque," thereby intending to indicate that he, such a learned man, had permitted himself to be led astray. In 1840 he published in Dresden *The Stephanistic Emigration to America*, of which I have several copies and which is also in the possession of others in our Church.²⁾ This history contains a "protest" and many documents which show that Vehse was well versed in the writings of Luther and the Lutheran fathers, presents the Biblical doctrine of the Church and the ministry, and stresses the rights

and the duties of the Christian congregation. Pastor C. F. W. Walther acknowledged this unreservedly at a later time and confessed that Vehse's presentation helped him to find the right way in the whole matter of the emigration;³⁾ and it is a well-known fact that Walther presented these doctrines in later years in a most convincing manner. But since Vehse was thoroughly discouraged by the whole matter, the historical section of his book is a biased partisan presentation and must not be considered a reliable source for the emigration history. After his return to Germany he lectured in Dresden and in the course of the following years published a number of historical works: *World History from the Standpoint of Culture and National Characteristics*; *The Social Position and Mental Education of the Women in England, America, France, and Chiefly in Germany*. Later he traveled extensively in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, also visited Paris and London. But he became best known through his *History of the German Courts Since the Reformation*, a work comprising 48 volumes and appearing in the years 1851–1859. Vehse's biographer, Schnorr von Carolsfeld, praises his indefatigable diligence in research work ("Forscherfleiss"), but also remarks that his interest in, and special liking for, what is piquant and anecdotal and his lack of critical acumen in examining the sources detracts from the value of his writings. And a present-day German scholar, Dr. Karl Hennig, who several years ago published a valuable book, *The Saxon Spiritual Movement at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century (Erweckungsbewegung)*, and who also examined the facts and conditions leading to the Saxonian

Four Prominent Laymen Among the Saxon Immigrants

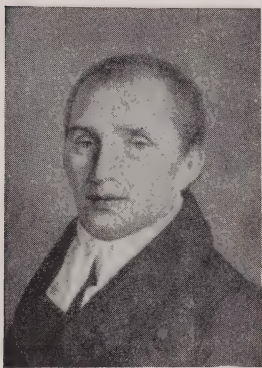
emigration quite thoroughly, says in a later work, which has not yet been published, that these peculiarities certainly did not qualify Vehse "to give a presentation of the emigration, the chief characteristic ('Wesen') of which was just the reverse of piquancy and anecdotes." The well-known theologian Andreas Gottlob Rudelbach, who personally knew Pastor Loeber and the other fathers of the Saxon emigration and whom Walther used to consider the foremost Lutheran theologian of the nineteenth century, wrote an exhaustive criticism of Vehse's book.⁴⁾ On the other hand, everyone concedes that Vehse's *History of the German Courts* showed indefatigable diligence in research work. He himself stated that his history had no particular aim, but simply presented the facts, and these in as special and individual a way as possible. It has sometimes been called a "*chronique scandaleuse*." Vehse was a child of his time, and he was influenced by the spirit that directed the political movements of that age. This is also indicated by some other works of his. In 1848, that memorable year of political upheavals and revolutions, he wrote: "Get out of hell! War or peace with France. The war between the poor and the money power and the latter's destruction." He was a vehement opponent, not of the monarchical idea in general, but of what he called "court monarchy" ("Hofmonarchie"). He also published another work in two volumes which shows his remarkable versatility: *Shakespeare as Protestant, Politician, Psychologist, and Poet*. I have no information as to whether this gifted man, who was at one time so much interested in church affairs, remained a member of the Church.

Persons and Events

THE ATTORNEY

The attorney among the Saxon immigrants was *F. Adolph Marbach*, one of the best known among the laymen of the immigration. He was an entirely different character from the historian presented in the preceding section, although he also did not remain in our country, but returned to Germany. Naturally, I cannot give any personal reminiscences,

but will present what I have heard from my parents and other immigrants and what I have read of him.



Pastor Martin Stephan, Sr.

Marbach was a highly gifted man. He had become an adherent of Martin Stephan while the latter was pastor of the so-called Bohemian St. John's Church in Dresden in the twenties and thirties of the last century. According to a younger German scholar who did research work in the archives of Dresden, Marbach

was also Stephan's attorney when the latter had some difficulties with the government. He traveled in company with Pastor Stephan and Pastor O. Herman Walther (later the first pastor of Old Trinity Church in St. Louis, whom Stephan trusted implicitly) on the *Olbers*, a new ship, making its first trip, and arriving in New Orleans in January, 1839. On this voyage his three-year-old son died and was buried in midocean in a little coffin which the ship carpenter had made. Pastor Walther, a gifted poet, composed a beautiful poem on this occasion.

[illegible]

Guaranteed and paid and asking
 111 Mar 1880

Martin Thompson
father.

Das Landgericht
Franz Adolf Mautsch

Carl Edward Peters

Alvarado Ferdinand Portia

Gen. Phil.

Paul D. Williams, D.D., Yale

2. *Quarta* *Dei* *Dei* *Dei*

**The Last Page of the Covenant Signed by the Saxon Emigrants
May 17, 1838, at Dresden**

They left Germany in the fall. Note the signatures of Marbach, Vehse, Brohm, and Stephan

Persons and Events

Marbach, of course, was very much shocked and disappointed when the immigrants had to depose their leader in May, 1839, and deport him from Perry County to Illinois, and he lost faith in the whole undertaking. He was one of those who doubted whether the immigrants were still a Christian congregation, whether the ministers in their midst had a valid call, whether their official acts were valid, and he sided with those who answered these questions in the negative. He thought the ministers should return to Germany. Those were such distressing times that no one of the present generation can fully understand how deeply depressed the ministers and the people were in those days and how they were almost driven to despair. I have a letter in my files written at that time and headed, not "Perry County," but "Wirrwar," confusion.

But this is not the place to enter upon this matter in detail. I shall only state that in order to dispel the gloom and bring about clarity and confidence, a public disputation was arranged in April, 1841, in the little log cabin college that had been built in Perry County in 1839 and of which I have spoken in my earlier volume. A large congregation was assembled. No one wanted to miss that discussion. On the one side Marbach was the leader, as spokesman of those who had lost all confidence and courage. His opponent was Pastor C. Ferdinand W. Walther, who rose to the memorable occasion as a true and courageous leader. He had been sick, had spent some time in the home of his brother-in-law, Pastor E. G. W. Keyl, had studied intensely the writings of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions, and from Scripture and the Confessions of the Church was fully convinced of the correctness of his position, and

Four Prominent Laymen Among the Saxon Immigrants

was able to refute all arguments of Marbach. It must have been a momentous hour when Walther showed that wherever there were believing Christians, there was a Christian congregation. The Saxons were still such a congregation, although they had a number of frailties and had been led astray. He also showed that wherever God's Word was preached in purity and the Sacraments were administered according to Scripture, the true Church of God existed, and therefore the Saxons were a congregation, where everyone could be sure of his eternal salvation. He finally showed that the Church does not consist of individual ordained ministers, but of all believers. They are the real spiritual priesthood, have received directly from God the Office of the Keys, and therefore have the right to call ministers, and such ministers would be the true servants of God. Walther and those who held the same opinion were victorious; Marbach and the opponents had lost the case. I presume that Marbach left Perry County soon after this event and returned to Germany.

But this is not all that I have to say. When Professor Walther, together with the President of our church body, Pastor Frederick Wyneken, went to Germany in 1851, he mentions that in September they came to Leipzig and on the following day attended the service in the St. Nicolai Church, of which Pastor Frederick Ahlfeld had charge. Ahlfeld was a conservative Lutheran and an excellent preacher, and Walther records: "Among the visitors in that service was also Councilor ('Kommissionsrat') Dr. Marbach, who had noticed us and, when we were on the point of leaving the church, approached and greeted us. While the conversation at first was somewhat reserved, it very soon

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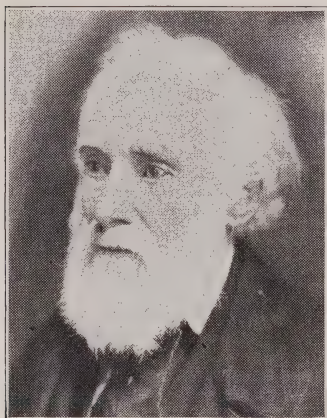
became cordial and ended with loud praises to God on both sides. Although we had been led very different ways by God, and although we both formerly held very different convictions on many important points, we now found ourselves in a very deeply rooted unity of faith and spirit. Contrary to our hopes and expectations, we spent most enjoyable hours in the esteemed family circle of Dr. Marbach — his wife was of the same conviction — for the strengthening of faith and love.”⁵⁾ But still more is recorded. When Walther undertook a second journey to Germany, chiefly on account of his physical condition, and again came to Leipzig on the 7th of June, 1860, he learned that Dr. Marbach, “whose heart stayed with the Church in America and in whom our Synod, with which he was completely one in spirit and faith, had the most cordial friend and spokesman” had died the day before. He attended the funeral on June 9 and later reprinted the funeral oration in the *Lutheraner*.⁶⁾ Walther introduced that reprint with these words: “Those among us to whom Dr. Marbach was known and dear — and there is not a small number of them — will be moved to praise God that He has led this fellow traveler, with whom we have spent an important part of our long pilgrimage, to the glory of heaven.” And in this funeral sermon Pastor Ahlfeld said among other things: “The Lord had drawn our departed friend out of a worldly life to Himself, and he placed into His service, in the first glowing love, all the great gifts with which grace had endowed him. Thinking that the preaching of the true way of salvation would not be permitted in his home country, he with many others resolved to emigrate to America. Even if he erred in that opinion, it was with him a sincere and brave con-

Four Prominent Laymen Among the Saxon Immigrants

fession of his Lord. For the sake of Jesus Christ he gave up all prospects which were opened to him in his home country on account of his rich gifts to become a poor farmer in America. He traveled with his family over the ocean, and his whole way is marked with the graves of his children. Two he had buried before he left his home country. One was buried in midocean, and a dear friend composed for this child on the ocean a hymn of victory and of consolation for the parents, which descended so deeply and powerfully into the unfathomable ocean of mercy that it poured out peace also over the grave in the ocean. [Ahlfeld refers to the poem by Pastor O. H. Walther.] In America he had to open two new graves, and when he had returned, after three years he had to bury another promising son. The Lord left him only one. But the greatest pain came to him in another way. Our departed brother stood humiliated and crushed on strange ground. Thousands would have been crushed under the weight of this terrible disappointment and would have lost their faith. But he was firm. He clung to the Lord alone, ever more sincerely and decidedly. As an industrious farmer he ate his bread in the sweat of his brow. The man who had been mayor in one of the most important cities of our country cleared with the ax the forest primeval and daily cut his cords of wood. He returned. He was called upon to help build the Kingdom of God in his fatherland. He was not ashamed to confess the error of his emigration. But his God and Savior had not permitted him to make the long distressing journey in vain. The 'In Thee alone, O Christ, my Lord, my hope on earth remaineth' was impressed indelibly upon his heart. Our precious evangelical doctrine, that we are redeemed by

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grace through the precious merit of our Lord Jesus Christ and that we are justified through faith, with which we accept this golden gem, had become the inalienable property of his soul. This he confessed before high and low. He stood on the center of the Cross, from which life goes out to the four ends of the world. From there he judged all happenings in the whole domain of the Church. From there



Gustav Pfau

he had that precious clarity of understanding which distinguished him before many thousands. From there he rejected all endeavors which try to place the center of life somewhere else than in justification by faith."

THE ARTIST

The artist among the Saxon immigrants was *Gustav Pfau*. He was born in 1808 in Leipzig and died in Springfield, Ill., in 1884, as steward of Concordia Seminary in that city. His father had been "Hauptkollektor," whatever that term implies, but he died while Gustav was very young, and his grandfather, a country parson, educated him. His mother, in a second marriage, married a lawyer ("Gerichtsaktuar") by the name of Beyer in Dresden. Pfau received a very good education and decided to become a painter, but on account of some eye trouble traveled with the son of a merchant in Belgium, Holland, and France,

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also lived for some time in Paris; and in all these years did not know his Savior. In fact, he was an infidel and dissatisfied with God, whose existence he doubted. He had not as yet seen a Bible; but temptations came, he found the Bible, read it, and was led to a saving knowledge of Christ. Later he was employed in the far-famed art gallery in Dresden, became somewhat prominent, joined Pastor Stephan's congregation, emigrated with the Saxon fathers, and passed through all their troubles and tribulations. Then he followed his profession as painter in Boston and New York, and assisted in the founding of our congregations in those cities. In the fifties of the last century he was for several years "colporteur," a distributor of religious books, for our church body, and in connection with this position did personal mission work. Finally he settled down



Pfau's "Ecce Homo"

in St. Louis, was married, gave instruction in drawing in our college, which was located in St. Louis in those days, but had to look for some other work on account of the recurring eye trouble. He was a master in painting and etching, painted the head of Christ, "Ecce Homo," which was formerly found in many of our Christian homes, also a very good portrait of Luther, and a water-color picture of the first Christian day school in Perry County, Mo. In 1874 he was appointed steward of our Springfield Seminary, but was not able to do very much, his wife and his

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daughters taking care of the household. One of his daughters was married to Pastor H. C. Witte of Pekin, Ill. At last he became very weak, was no longer able to read or write, but his mind was alert, and his biographer, Prof.



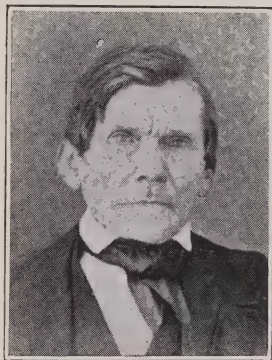
Altenburg School, Perry County

Henry C. Wyneken, speaks very highly of his sincere and childlike faith. His funeral sermon was preached by his friend and confessor, Pastor Friedrich Lochner, in Springfield, and he was buried in St. Louis, Professor G. Schaller officiating.⁷⁾

Four Prominent Laymen Among the Saxon Immigrants

THE TAX COLLECTOR

The treasurer and financier among the Saxon emigrants was *Frederick William Barthel*. He was born in Saxony in 1791, in the days of rankest rationalism, but had a faithful, believing teacher, and after his confirmation he lived in the home of a pious collector of taxes as some kind of secretary (Schreiber). This collector had connection either by person or by letter with the few witnesses of salvation in Christ alone. Barthel was very faithful in his work and while still a young man of twenty years was appointed to a responsible position in the tax department in Leipzig ("koeniglicher Steuerbeamter") and was promoted again and again to more important positions in this department. When the fathers of our Church studied at the university in the beginning of the thirties, they found a home in his house. C. F. W. Walther says of these days: "The only family in Leipzig that understood our position, whose home was also open to us at any time and where we always found refreshment for body and soul, was the family of the sainted and in the ways of the Lord well-tried *Steuerrevisor* Barthel and his pious wife." He again says: "Here we beheld for the first time in our life the picture of a consecrated, truly Christian family." ⁸⁾



F. W. Barthel

When Mrs. Barthel passed to her eternal reward in July, 1881, Walther in his funeral oration paid a beautiful tribute

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to her. I cannot refrain from including part of his remarks, because they throw light on Walther's own life in those early days, and we can feel grateful affection quivering through every word: "Fifty years have just elapsed since I had the great good fortune to be introduced by a pious friend to the family of the deceased. A youth without God lay behind me, and having only a short time previous come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, a new, never anticipated world opened itself to me. I saw a truly Christian household, a family in which Jesus was all in all, in which the Word of God was the daily meat and drink of souls, ruling all things, in which the Lord was being served without ceasing, in which, therefore, Jesus' heavenly peace was poured out upon all members of the family. Thus I here found my spiritual parents, a father in Christ, a mother in Christ, who now cared for me spiritually and bodily as for a son.

"Just at that time I was in deep spiritual affliction, was famished in body and soul and, doubting my salvation, wrestled with despair. No praying, no pleading, no weeping, no fasting, no wrestling, seemed able to help; the peace of God had departed from my soul. Terrified by the Law, that verse resounded in my heart day and night:

Nur dies, dies liegt mir an,
Dass ich nicht wissen kann,
Ob ich ein wahrer Christ
Und du mein Jesus bist.

[This, only this is my concern, that I cannot know whether I am a true Christian and Thou art my Jesus.]

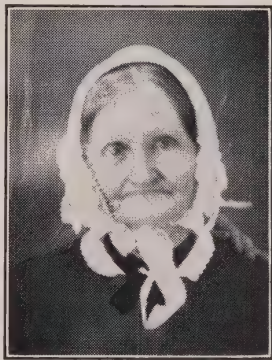
"It was then especially that the dear departed carried me in her motherly heart. Then, as often as I crossed her

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threshold, her lips not only ran over with words of evangelical consolation for me, but she wrestled day and night in fervent intercession with God for me, the strange youth. And behold! God heard her supplication; I at last came to peace in Christ; and now a bond of blessed fellowship in Christ embraced us which nothing could rend until her death.

“Oh, how I rejoice at an opportunity to publicly testify to this! But I rejoice far more that I may some day, before the throne of the Lamb and the face of all angels and the elect, give thanks with a perfect heart to her for all that she did for poor miserable me.”⁹⁾

In this way the Barthel home became a haven of refuge for those students that had found their Savior, and the poorer ones, Walther included, also found financial assistance. In 1838 Barthel relinquished his lucrative



Mrs. F. W. Barthel

position as a prominent state official for conscience' sake and emigrated with the Saxons to America. He also suffered all the privations and tribulations of those days, but continually grew stronger in faith. Very soon he began to serve his congregation in St. Louis as an elder, and he was made the first Treasurer of the Missouri Synod after its organization in 1847. For many years he was active in this office and devoted almost all his time to it, also taking a special interest in the mailing of the *Lutheraner* and of the

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Lehre und Wehre, and representing his congregation again and again at synodical conventions, either as a delegate (for instance, in 1847 in Chicago, in 1848 in St. Louis, in 1849 in Fort Wayne) or as a visitor. Walther, his pastor, testified on some other occasion: "I, for my part at least, have never known a more devoted lover of the divine Word." His last years were years of suffering. He had been stricken and was paralyzed for more than two years, but remained faithful to the end. He died in 1859. Pastor G. Schaller preached his funeral sermon on 1 Tim. 1:15, 16. He left one daughter and three sons, one of whom, M. C. Barthel, became the first manager of our Concordia Publishing House.

CHAPTER VII. — Three Unforgettable Laymen of Our Church:

J. F. Schuricht

T. H. Lamprecht

A. G. Brauer

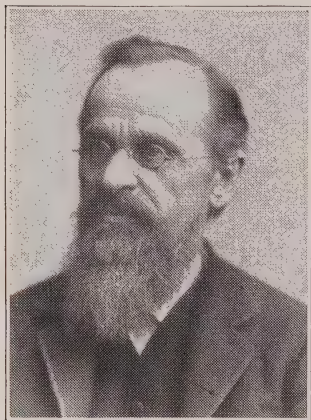


IN MY LONG LIFE I have always considered it a great privilege and pleasure to know quite a number of our laymen who were much interested in the work of our Church, but who never undertook anything that did not agree with the doctrine and practice maintained by our church body. They did not want to remove the old landmarks, but followed faithfully the paths taken by our fathers and were anxious to place their talents, their particular abilities, and the means with which God had blessed them in their business into the service of the Church without transgressing the proper bounds or undertaking work for which they were not called and which did not tend to the welfare of the Church. A whole book could be written about such laymen, some of whom are still among the living. However, I shall single out a few, now gone to their reward, who were, I may say, quite close to me and with whom I had many contacts, dealings, and discussions. And the three men whose memory I still cherish are J. F. Schuricht, T. H. Lamprecht, and A. G. Brauer. They were close friends in their lifetime, and Schuricht and Brauer were related to each other and associated in business.

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JOHN FUERCHTEGOTT SCHURICHT

J. F. Schuricht was a member of an old family which came to this country with the Saxon immigrants in 1838 to 1839. His father, a weaver, was born in 1788 in Saxony and died in St. Louis in 1877. He came to our country with his wife and seven children, and if a certain incident had



J. F. Schuricht, Sr.

not taken place, there would not have been the well-known Schuricht family in our Church. One of the sons, who held a good position, had intended to remain in Germany, but after his parents and brothers and sisters had taken leave of him, he unexpectedly decided that he would join them, and therefore the family arrived in Bremen a day later than they had planned. They were scheduled to travel on the ship *Amalia*, but through some

mistake their baggage had been loaded on one of the other emigrant boats, and to prevent unloading, the two captains made the agreement that the family should travel on the ship on which their baggage was stored. It is well known that the *Amalia* foundered somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean and never reached port. All her passengers were lost.

I know nothing of the father, but three of his sons I knew in my younger days, and it always interested me that the

Three Unforgettable Laymen of Our Church

pious parents gave names to their sons which confessed their faith: John *Ehregott* Schuricht, John *Gottlob* Schuricht, John *Traugott* Schuricht, and John *Fuerchtegott* Schuricht. John Traugott, the so-called Merchant Schuricht, and the youngest son, John Fuerchtegott, the so-called Miller Schuricht (he was one of the founders of the "Sachsenmuehle," Saxony Mills, which is still in existence), became very well known not only in St. Louis, but in wider circles. They had married sisters of the well-known Tirmenstein family. John Fuerchtegott Schuricht was Treasurer of our church body from 1863 to 1881 and was always very active in the Church. Four daughters were married to other well-known Lutherans, to Pastor Carl Eissfeldt in Chicago, to Prof. Otto Hattstaedt of Milwaukee, to Pastor Richard Kretzschmar of St. Louis, and to August Brauer, of whom I shall speak in the last section of this chapter. The only son of the family was J. F. Schuricht, Jr., the subject of these reminiscences.

He was born in St. Louis, April 27, 1858, and died March 8, 1914, after a lingering illness. Already in his boyhood he became well acquainted with church and synodical matters. I remember that he once spoke to me about the excellent Christian education he had received at home and regretted that he had not been able to give such a good education to his own children. But I also remember that



J. F. Schuricht, Jr.

Persons and Events

in the daily family devotions which he conducted at the table he quite frequently included items from the *Lutheraner* in order to acquaint his children with the affairs of the church at large and interest them in the reading of a church paper. When he came of age, he at once participated in the various undertakings of our Church, never saying very much publicly, but considering everything very carefully and acting according to his findings and convictions. That was a trait of his character which I noticed again and again. He discussed matters with his brother-in-law August Brauer, but usually permitted him to do the talking while he voiced his opinion more or less privately and gave good and sound advice.

In 1893, the same year in which I came to St. Louis as instructor at Concordia Seminary, he was elected a member of the Board of Control of our institution, and from 1902 he also discharged the duties of the general Treasurer of our Synod up to a short time before his death. The work in this office increased continually and demanded much of his time and attention, but all those who knew him also know how faithfully, conscientiously, and ably he served our church body; how he took an active interest in this work and in a quiet way, without much ado, bore the troubles which the administration of this office brought to him. As Treasurer of Synod he was also *ex officio* a member of the Board of Directors of our Concordia Publishing House. It is not generally known that together with his brother-in-law Brauer he really began the City Mission work here in St. Louis by guaranteeing the salary of a missionary for one year; and when the undertaking did not turn out as they had expected, they were not discouraged and did not

Three Unforgettable Laymen of Our Church

give up the work, but, on the contrary, were the more anxious to begin it again with other like-minded members of our Church. Many a conference was held in the business place of Brauer and Schuricht. Every phase of this mission work was at first privately but very carefully considered, and in such conferences I always noticed the simple and childlike faith and piety of Schuricht. Also his contributions and benefactions were never proclaimed publicly, but I know that many a dollar was given for the Church outside his contributions to his own congregation. Using his good business sense and judgment, he was always very intent on having the plans actually realized. On one occasion — I have forgotten the particulars — he and Brauer arranged to finance a certain project with their money, and, knowing both men, I also knew well enough that they would stand by their word and not withdraw. But Schuricht said to his brother-in-law: "Let us rather put this down in writing, so that we may not fail in our verbal agreement and obligation." And it was put in writing. He never let his left hand know what his right hand was doing. Thus he continued faithfully in his daily work as head bookkeeper of the business concern which he and Brauer conducted and also in some official capacity in the Saxony Mills.

During his sickness I heard him more than once confess his unfeigned faith, and in such confession and with moving admonitions to the members of his family he passed away at the rather early age of 55 years. He was buried in St. Louis on March 11, 1914, his confessor and brother-in-law Pastor Kretschmar preaching the sermon, and two

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officials of our Synod, who at the same time were personal friends of his, Pastor F. Pfothenhauer, the President of our Synod, and Pastor R. D. Biedermann, the Secretary of the body, paying a special tribute to his memory.¹⁾

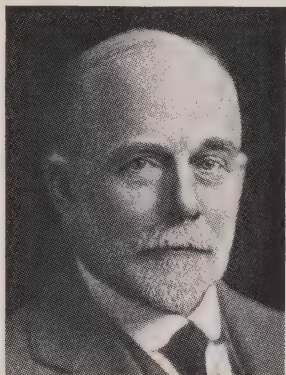
T. H. LAMPRECHT

Almost seventy years have passed since I first met Theodore Lamprecht. My thoughts go back to September, 1877, when I entered our Concordia College at Fort Wayne. At that time I was a little over 13 years old, had lived in the country in Frankenmuth, Michigan, and had attended the country school of which I have spoken in my earlier volume. For the second time in my life I had traveled on the railroad, after having as a boy of nine years made my first trip to Detroit, where a married sister was living. It was but natural that I was almost overpowered by the new impressions. But I was also somewhat apprehensive as to how I would get along in college life in entirely new surroundings and conditions. When I arrived in Fort Wayne under the chaperonage of Jacob Trinklein, another Frankenmuth boy, who had already spent four years at the college, and called on good old President Otto Hanser (he was called Director at that time) to be assigned to a room, he took me to Lamprecht, who was a member of the upper class, Prima. Thus Lamprecht became my room supervisor, or *decurio*. I shall never forget how friendly Lamprecht, who had been brought up in New York City, treated me, the timid little country boy, and how during the year he more than once protected me against some of the students in the middle classes, who, according to a prevailing college custom, treated the newcomer, particularly one who came

Three Unforgettable Laymen of Our Church

from the country, in a somewhat proud and dominating way. But while I was sincerely grateful to Lamprecht for his kindness, I naturally looked up to him with reverence and awe. He was a "Primaner," and I was a "Quintaner," a member of the second lowest class, and as a Quintaner I otherwise had nothing in common with him.

After my first college year Lamprecht went to St. Louis in order to study theology from 1878 to 1881. He passed his examination, but never entered the ministry. He was a gifted young man, had a good command of the English language, and on account of his polished and affable manner would have fitted well into any congregation. Why he did not enter the ministry I never heard, neither did I ask him about the matter in later years when we became good friends. But I have reasons to assume that he did not have the inclination for the ministry and particularly was somewhat hesitant to enter the pulpit. Quite frequently I used to refer to his example while I was connected with Concordia Seminary as instructor and especially while I had charge of many external matters pertaining to the institution and was quite close to the students. I called attention to Lamprecht's example over against parents who were very anxious to have their sons become ministers even if the sons had no inclination



T. H. Lamprecht

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whatever to that calling and had spent a year or two, and sometimes even a third year, at the Seminary. Although I consider the ministry the highest calling, a "good work," I Tim. 3:1, I always emphasize the fact that God wants willing workers in the ministry, and if one is not really inclined that way and is not ready to become a preacher, he should rather enter another calling; and Lamprecht's example showed very clearly how intelligent, consecrated, and well-educated laymen can render excellent, even extraordinary services to the Church. I am ready to say that Lamprecht accomplished more by word and deed and example than he would have achieved as an unwilling preacher; and I may add that his theological education stood him in good stead in his later life and activity in the Church. More than once he quoted something which he had learned in his student days.

After graduating he entered business, and for a number of years I did not meet him. But after I had come to St. Louis as instructor in the Seminary in 1893, I again met him, at first occasionally, but later on quite frequently, and our former acquaintance ripened into a friendship, so that I felt a personal loss when he was taken from us at the age of seventy years. He might have served the Church even more in his declining years after he had retired from business.

As a businessman he traveled quite extensively, visited St. Louis regularly, and either called on me or met me at the home of his sister, who was married to Dr. Otto Fick. These two were, as far as I know, the only children of their parents, Lamprecht's father being a well-known businessman in New York and a member of old Trinity Church,

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first served, in the forties and fifties of the last century, by Pastor Theodore Brohm and later for many years by Pastor Frederick Koenig, whose son Frederick was sometime pastor in Nebraska, then professor at our teachers' college at Addison, and then again pastor in Minnesota. Pastor Koenig was always a close friend of Lamprecht.

Even in those days, when Lamprecht was still a comparatively young man, I noticed his interest in the affairs of the Church, particularly of our own church body, and, above all, his childlike faith and Christianity. God blessed him in his business endeavors, and he became well-to-do. But more and more he also placed his temporal means into the service of the Church. He became prominent in the conventions of our church body, particularly so when he was a delegate to the memorable St. Louis Convention of 1911. At that time he resided in Chicago and was one of the chief advocates for transferring our teachers' college from the village of Addison to River Forest in Greater Chicago, a change which time has shown to have been the proper step. Very soon thereafter he moved to New York for business reasons, but also then I met him quite often, either here in St. Louis or in New York, sometimes in his place of business or in meetings, once also in his beautiful country residence on Long Island; and above all, I corresponded with him quite regularly in the interest of the Church. And those who paid attention to what took place in our church body in those years know what he did for its welfare, particularly during the last ten years of his life. With a number of similarly minded noble friends, most of whom have gone to their reward, he was active in getting rid of our synodical debt, which hampered the ex-

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pansion of our work. He became one of the founders and the first president of the Lutheran Laymen's League, organized for the purpose of assisting our Synod in financial and business matters. He was particularly active for the collection of the great Lutheran Laymen's League fund in the interest of our Veterans of the Cross, that is, of our old and retired pastors and teachers and their widows and orphans. He took a very active interest in our colleges and seminaries and was anxious to further their building programs and their educational goals. For this and other purposes he gave thousands and tens of thousands of dollars. He was also much interested, in fact the leader, in the Post-graduate Home Society, which his friend Pastor Frederick Koenig, Jr., had called into life and which enabled quite a number of our professors and instructors at our institutions and missionaries on furlough to continue graduate studies, an undertaking which is still being continued with the help of the Lutheran Laymen's League and the Walther League. He was active in the removal of our Seminary in St. Louis to the western part of the city and for the erection of our new and stately buildings, and in the last years of his life he was particularly interested in the work of our Free Church in Europe, whose members he had visited, and to whose work he contributed considerable money, especially in acquiring the beautiful seminary property in Zehlendorf, a suburb of Berlin, which was almost destroyed in the Second World War. Another benefaction of his is the orphans' home "Sperlingshof" near Pforzheim in Baden. When he learned about the straits in which this charitable institution found itself, he at once gave a considerable sum and interested also his friends, men and women, in America in

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the home. In the aftermath of the First World War he was one of the leaders of our church body in alleviating the physical needs in Europe, in the European Free Church as well as in other circles. And all these things he did, as was clear from his beautiful and never-to-be-forgotten letters, without seeking any honor or praise for himself, but out of love to the Lord and to His Church; and often he undertook such deeds of love without having others know of his gifts, not letting the left hand know what the right hand did. I may say in this connection that in the last years of his life hundreds of dollars passed through my hands for the benefit of the kingdom of God and charitable undertakings which were not well known. He really got something from his money, the grandest experience that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

For several years before his death Lamprecht's physical strength began to wane, and therefore he withdrew more and more. Finally he retired from his business as a partner in a large firm dealing in woolen goods, traveled extensively, and quite frequently spent months in a warm, beautiful climate. But even then he did not lose his interest in church matters, as his letters evidenced. He visited prominent men in other parts of the globe, conversed with them about the Church and our own church body, and, to keep them informed, ordered our church periodicals for them. I remember very well what he wrote about such a visit with Dr. Schneller of the well-known orphan home in Jerusalem. Before he undertook his last trip, in order to avoid the winter season in New York, he had planned to meet me and to discuss several matters, but the condition of his health did not permit him to come to St. Louis, and in

lieu of that he sent me for our Seminary library an interesting, valuable old Arabic manuscript which he had bought in Egypt from an old Jew, whom he impressed with a few Hebrew words which he still remembered from his college days. At that time he wrote me that he and his wife, a daughter of Pastor J. H. Sieker of New York, who shared his interest and his benefactions, would undertake a journey to the Orient and would then also visit our missionaries in India and look into their work. From Japan he sent me by airmail a check, so that I would be in a position to help poor and undernourished children in Germany, of whose need he was well informed and for whom he had already done a great deal. His instruction was that I should see to it that they would have a little joy at Christmas time. He always had his church papers forwarded and asked me to write to him in India. Then I heard that he had taken sick in the Orient. Later on I received a letter from him — the last letter — and also a letter from his wife, which gave me particulars. In Java he had suffered a severe heart attack, which almost caused his death. He had to spend seven weeks in a hospital and then, at the urgent advice of Hollandish physicians, went to Marseilles, France, in order to be in a favorable climate. In this letter he said, among other things: “God’s mercy was immeasurably great. He has sustained us spiritually and physically. My faithful spouse was a great comfort to me, and one of the thoughts which prompted my most earnest prayers was this, that she should not be left alone ten thousand miles distant from friends and relatives if God would call me home. The Lord be praised, who has brought us to Cannes in Southern France, where we have good friends and are able to contact

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relatives.” He was still very weak, but even in this last letter he showed his interest in church matters. Although the nurse told him that he had written more than enough, he requested me to see to it that our periodicals and books would be made available to such as would like to have them. His words read: “By all means continue sending our literature and church papers abroad where you believe most good will be done. Increase the number you thus supply at my expense rather than decrease. If you want a fund in hand, I will send you a check. The older I grow, the better can I afford to do this, for with every year my days and therefore my requirements for myself are growing less.” Three weeks after writing this last letter he was called home after severe suffering. My answer did not reach him.

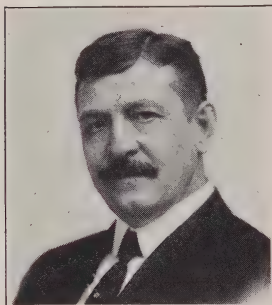
He was born August 7, 1858, in Brooklyn, N. Y., and died in Cannes, France, April 30, 1928. Those that knew him will never forget him.²⁾

A. G. BRAUER

August Brauer is the last one of my three friends among the laymen of our Church of whom I shall speak in this connection. Schuricht died in 1914, Lamprecht in 1928, and Brauer in 1932, and there are quite a number of my readers who were acquainted with Brauer personally and perhaps knew him even better than I did. But I intend to say some things in these reminiscences which are not generally known.

Brauer was born May 20, 1857, in Pittsburgh, where his father was pastor at that time. When the latter accepted a call as professor at our Concordia Seminary, the son came to St. Louis with his parents and lived in our city up to

the time of his death, almost seventy years. His father might be called an original. Seriousness and humor were blended in him in a remarkable way. Brauer's mother, Beata Steinmann, was also a "gemuetsvolle," genial, but active person, and the characteristics of both of his parents were found in their son. He was the only one of the six sons who did not enter the ministry. I do not know the reason, but I may well repeat what I said of Lamprecht, that as a layman he did more perhaps and accomplished more than if he had entered the ministry. It is always a great benefit to the Church if it has a large number of active, consecrated laymen.



A. G. Brauer

I first met Brauer in my student days, since one of my close friends very often visited his home. At that time he had not been married very long to a daughter of our faithful synodical

Treasurer, J. F. Schuricht, and in that way became the brother-in-law of the later Treasurer J. F. Schuricht. At that time he was a member of Old Trinity Church. Later he became one of the founders and officers of a daughter church, Emmaus Congregation. Even then he impressed me very much as a young man of truly Christian mind and one who took a great interest in the affairs of the Church. Later he became quite active in the affairs of the Walther College in St. Louis, the city mission, the charitable institutions, and our Radio Station KFUE. Together with Lamprecht, Brauer was one of the foremost in helping to elimi-

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nate the large synodical debt and in founding the Lutheran Laymen's League; he was an officer of the League for many years. But particularly the professors, students, and officials of our Seminary must never forget that he served as a member of its Board of Control from 1893 up to the time of his death in 1932, almost 40 years, and I think I can say that I know perhaps better than others how in these many years he rendered excellent service to the institution, not only in devoting much time to it and giving very liberally to it, which quite often did not become generally known, but, above all things, in being a faithful intercessor for the students, for the instructors, for all that were connected with the institution. And this I noticed even up to the very last days of his life, when I visited him about two weeks before he passed away. Among the many things which I could mention, one thing impressed me strongly. He never took a back seat when money was to be raised, but gave very liberally. But in handling moneys that were given by others for the Church—very often the gift of people in moderate circumstances, of widows and orphans—he was extremely careful and conscientious and anxious to give account of and judiciously spend every cent that had been given. That should also be an example to others, especially in our days, when so much money contributed by our Christians is being spent in the interest of the Church. His services for our Church must be valued the higher because he was a very busy man, the owner and head of a large supply house for stove repairs. But whenever his services were requested for the Church, he never excused himself by stating that he was too busy and did not have the necessary time, but he simply took the time.

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Quite often his store was the place where informal meetings were held. Many an afternoon or evening he came out to the Seminary to look after its physical needs, and I shall never forget that quite frequently he took something off my own shoulders, especially disagreeable things which had to be taken care of, for he always had the courage of his convictions and told everybody what he thought should be said to him.

I must also say that many a dollar for undertakings of the Church and our Seminary which could not be borne by the general treasuries passed through my hands, and he did not wait until he was accosted, but if he knew about the matter, he came and brought his contribution. I remember that on one occasion he remarked in his friendly and candid manner that I had not been to see him for quite a while to present such a matter; I certainly should not fail to come any time when something was to be done for God's kingdom. And in such a frank way he also approached his fellow Christians and did not hesitate to ask them for a larger contribution, because it was his conviction that one could not render a greater service to his fellow Christians than by urging them, if God had blessed them in a material way, to give not only quite a liberal, but a large amount. Whenever he bought a new automobile, he used to give a like sum for the Church, for, he said, you must not try to have some enjoyment and pleasure for yourself and save and subtract from the Church, "*an der Kirche sparen.*" I recall very vividly that when he heard that a well-to-do woman intended to spend some months in a summer resort, he called on her and said that undoubtedly she would enjoy her vacation much more if before she left she would give

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him a thousand dollars for a certain work of the Church. I myself was present when he and another lay friend discussed one of the needs of the Church. His friend said to him: "Brauer, you know more of the affairs and conditions of the Church than I do; whatever you contribute, I will also contribute." And then Brauer told him that he would give five thousand dollars, and his friend unhesitatingly followed suit. This also impressed people who were not church members. I remember one instance. A prominent attorney of our city who repeatedly did some legal work for our Church, and in that way quite frequently met Brauer, once said to another layman — I do not recall his exact words, but I am sure that this was the sense of them — "I am not a member of any Church, I do not confess any religion; but when I see what Mr. Brauer and others are doing for their Church, the interest they take in it, and the time and money they spend on it, I must confess that there must be more in religion than I thought." And so I feel that Brauer did much publicity work, even if it would not directly be called "publicity" nowadays, just as he showed his unfeigned Christianity in many ways without making many words. After his death a close relative told me that aside from his daily family devotions Brauer had the habit of praying the Twenty-Third Psalm when walking from the streetcar to his place of business.

After the beginning of the thirties Brauer's health began to fail somewhat. He was getting older, but he continued his activities, particularly his interest in our Seminary and in his beloved City Mission, to which he had given a piece of property for church and school purposes, very properly called "The Brauer Memorial Mission." A number of years

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before, when it had been decided to locate our Seminary in the western part of the city, he at once acquired an extra building lot in order to safeguard an entrance on the north side. It is now deeded to the institution.

In 1932 he spent some months in Florida. When he returned, it was very cold in St. Louis and he became seriously ill. Although he recovered from that sickness, he gradually became weaker and weaker, and the members of his family and his friends noticed more and more that his days were numbered. But just in those days of sickness his firm faith and his Christian patience became stronger and stronger, and he left to all those that were near to him a wonderful example.

On September 26, 1932, he passed away, leaving his second wife, Caroline Schmidt, nee Mittenzwei, whom he had married in 1905, three sons, three daughters, and two stepdaughters. His first wife, Emily, nee Schuricht, had died in 1902. Two of his sons are pastors, August E. in Columbus, Ind., Walter C. in Evansville, Ind., the youngest, Oscar, is member of the Concordia Seminary board; and three of his daughters are married to pastors: Mrs. Ed. C. Krause in Sheboygan, Wis., Mrs. F. L. Oberschulte in St. Paul, Minn., and Mrs. H. J. Elling in Geneseo, Ill. When he was buried, on the 28th of September, Dr. J. H. C. Fritz preached the sermon on 2 Cor. 5:14, 15 and President F. Pfotenhauer and Pastor R. Kretzschmar made short addresses. In the forenoon of the same day I had the privilege of delivering a memorial address to the Faculty and students of the Seminary, for which he had done so much in his lifetime.³⁾

CHAPTER VIII. — A Well-Informed Church
Historian:
Wilhelm Krauss



ONE OF THE INTERESTING CHARACTERS in the history of our Church and of our Seminary in St. Louis is Professor Eugen Adolf Wilhelm Krauss, and since more than twenty years have passed since his death, I believe that the younger generation would like to know something of his life and activities. I again record what I shall say of him in the form of personal reminiscences.

It was in the year 1880. The Predestinarian Controversy, which affected our church body perhaps more than anything else in its history, was at its height. At that time I was only sixteen years old and a student at our Fort Wayne College, but the controversy interested not only the pastors and lay members of our Synod, but also us college boys, who usually are not too much interested in such matters. In order to deal with the matter thoroughly and in a conscientious manner, the President of our church body, Pastor H. C. Schwan, had called a general pastoral conference to meet in Chicago towards the end of September and during the first days of October. The purpose of that conference was to establish clarity and harmony in our own church body and at the same time to sound a clarion note for the other Lutheran synods in our country. The printed report of that conference appeared very soon after

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the meeting, and several of my friends and I read that report at once and discussed its contents. And then, as far as I can remember, I for the first time read something about Professor Krauss, whom in later life I learned to know so well and who became my esteemed colleague at the Seminary. He had not been a member of our church body very long, as will appear from a sketch of his life.



E. A. W. Krauss

He was born in Germany, had received his education in that country, and had studied theology under well-known Lutheran instructors, who indeed were called Lutherans, but had more or less discarded the genuine confessional Lutheran theology. It was therefore not to be wondered at that he was not familiar with our doctrinal standpoint in every particular as in later years, although already

in Germany he had left the State Church and joined a Free Church. At that conference in Chicago he at first had voiced his disagreement with our presentation of the doctrines of predestination and conversion as taken from Scripture and embodied in the Lutheran Confessions. But now I read in the printed report that after listening to the discussions for several days and also expressing his dissenting opinion, he asked for the floor one morning and made the following statement: "After considering again and again the reasons given by Dr. Walther for his doctrinal standpoint and after further discussions with others, I am now

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fully convinced that my former position is untenable. Scripture teaches, and the Formula of Concord states, that our Election is really 'eine Ursache unserer Seligkeit und was dazu gehoert' (a cause of our salvation and what belongs to it). I must say that I have misunderstood this 11th Article of the Formula of Concord up to the present time. I am happy that I now see my error. I thank God for this, and I pray that my brethren on the opposite side may be brought by God during these days to the same knowledge and conviction." When I read these words, they impressed me very much. I have always admired a man who, having said or written something that did not agree with pure doctrine, sound practice, or historical facts, when shown his error did not try to defend his words, but withdrew and corrected them. I thought in my mind: This is indeed a courageous man, a man of character, and, looking back, I must say that these words really characterized the man as I learned to know him later. He had his firm opinions and convictions and uttered them in a forceful and determined way, not caring whether others liked them or not. But he was also ready to listen to reasons and proofs, and, above all, throughout his life he honored the authority of the divine Word, which he had studied very carefully, also the more difficult sections. He had analyzed all kinds of difficult matters and did not take it easy in such matters; it was not his manner, "das Brett da zu bohren, wo es am duennsten ist," to use a familiar German expression (to bore through the thinnest part of the board). Quite frequently he undertook some special studies that never became known publicly. But one would always notice his

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holy respect for God's Word. He knew and realized that the Lord looks to one who "trembleth at His Word," Is. 66:2.

This was the first time, as stated above, that I came across Krauss' name; but before proceeding, I must say something of his life before that time.

He was born in Noerdlingen, Bavaria, June 4, 1851, and received his college education in Augsburg, the first four years at the Protestant *Gymnasium* "zu St. Anna," and then five years at the Catholic *Gymnasium* "zu St. Stephan." This indicates that he had a very thorough preparatory school education. On account of personal reasons his father, a grade-school teacher, sent him to the Catholic school, which was not unusual in Augsburg. This was of value to Krauss in his later years. He thoroughly knew Catholic doctrines, theories, and usages, and made use of such knowledge in his teaching. This was so remarkable that some of his students and perhaps also other members of our Church thought that he had been born a Catholic and later joined the Lutheran Church. He also became a very decided Protestant, having learned to know the Catholic Church so well. These school years he described in a very interesting little book which he published in 1920, four years before his death, under the title *Meine Schuljahre*, my school years. When I read that booklet and told him how much I was interested in his education and urged him to give his reminiscences also of his university days, he declined, as usual, in a rather emphatic way, without stating any reasons, as far as I remember. It is really regrettable that he did not do so, for he could have written something worth while. He studied at the universities in Erlangen and Leipzig from 1869 to 1873, and his teachers were promi-

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nent men. I need but mention Thomasius, Hofmann, von Zezschwitz, Plitt, and Franck in Erlangen, and Kahnis, Delitzsch, and Luthardt in Leipzig. Occasionally he would tell me something of his student days, since he had a remarkable memory and always knew how to present a matter in an interesting way. Thus I recall that he was present when Emil Kautzsch, the well-known Semitic scholar and excellent Hebrew grammarian, was examined for his Doctor's degree at Leipzig, and he told me that Luthardt in his deep, sonorous voice remarked, after Kautzsch had been questioned with regard to Aramaic and other Semitic dialects: "Multa hodie dicta sunt, quae mihi ignota sunt, et ignota manebunt," many things have been said today which are unknown to me and will remain unknown; and then Luthardt examined Kautzsch in dogmatics and ethics.

During his student days he became acquainted with Pastor Hoerger in Memmingen, who had separated from the Bavarian State Church and probably through him began to correspond with Professor Walther in St. Louis about coming to serve the Lutheran Church in America, and this finally led him, in November, 1873, to come to our country. I may also mention that in those days he was acquainted with the two Facklers, who also had connection with Walther and in the course of years became ministers in our Church, the one in Michigan, the other in Missouri. In 1874 Krauss, after having passed his colloquy in March, accepted in April the call to our congregation at Cedarburg, Wisconsin, and became a member of our Synod, but in the fall of 1875 he returned to Germany in order to serve a Free Church congregation in Sperlingshof in Baden. However, after some years, in January, 1880, he again came

to our country, having been called to the presidency of our normal school at Addison, Illinois, as the successor of Director J. C. W. Lindemann. There he served 25 years, teaching religion, pedagogics, and the German language, of which he was a master; and in 1905 he was called to our Seminary in St. Louis as Professor A. L. Graebner's successor, teaching particularly church history, but also propaedeutics.

But while he was in Baden, something happened which for the second time called my attention to him before I had ever seen him. It must have been in my student days at St. Louis when I read an oration of his in an older volume of our monthly periodical *Lehre und Wehre*. The reading of that oration considerably increased my respect for him, for his courageous personality, and also for his scholarship and ability. As stated above, Krauss had accepted a call to Sperlingshof in Baden and was called upon to deliver a funeral oration for a young man who had been a member of the United Church of Baden, but who in his sickness had requested Krauss to visit him and through his services was brought to acknowledge the truth proclaimed by the Lutheran Church over against all unionism. In this funeral oration Krauss had shown "how to teach sick people to arrange their affairs in a Christian way and prepare themselves for a blessed end." It was not a short, but a very significant and weighty sermon, and, according to the circumstances of the case, also contained a condemnation of the United Church; he had quoted a stanza of the official hymnbook of that Church in which it was stated that God would no longer accept the late conversion of a sinner, and Krauss had called this a "blasphemy of the merit of Christ," a "wicked song" ("gottlosen Singsang"), an "abominable

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stanza," and had stated that whoever would read such a stanza to a dying person would render not a true service, a "Gottesdienst," but a Satanic service, a "Teufelsdienst." (Everyone who knew Krauss also knows that he did not mince words, but called a spade a spade; that he sometimes used very forceful words and did not hesitate at all to apply them wherever they seemed necessary.

This oration created a sensation. Krauss was indicted by the highest church board of Baden, the "Oberkirchenrat," and accused of having violated a paragraph of the penal code ("Reichsstrafgesetzbuch") and insulted the ordinances and usages of the Evangelical Protestant State Church. Also in our country, as well as in Germany, people were afraid that the case, which was to be argued before the criminal court in Karlsruhe, would have a bad ending. His opponents in the State Church definitely expected that he would be sentenced and probably be imprisoned for several months. Some spoke about exiling him, and it was even said that in one place they prayed for such banishment. The State's attorney to whom the Church council had taken its grievance was a Jew, and when the case was called, he was represented by a Catholic. But Krauss was very confident. He was not to be intimidated. He knew that he had a good and just cause. He himself undertook his defense and delivered a remarkable oration, consisting of a clear presentation and a convincing argumentation, and I can very well picture to myself how Krauss, at that time still a young man of 28 years, had his manuscript, written out carefully, in his hand, and addressed his judges with a rather loud voice, sparkling eyes, red face, in holy zeal, and with great emphasis. And he closed his lengthy defense

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with this very definite request: "Your Honor ('Hoher Gerichtshof'), considering that, in the first place, I am correct in facts, having clearly proved the correctness and Scripturalness of the expressions used by me, and considering that I am also formally correct, because my statements are nothing but the expression and the judgment of those Confessions to which I subscribed with an oath and which are recognized and tolerated by the State, I expect as the only possible judgment of your administration of justice the verdict of 'Not guilty' and acquittal."

And what no one had expected took place. The State's attorney, who during the reading had by nodding shown his agreement with the principles laid down by Krauss, declared that he was not in a position to demand a sentence, and the court ruled that the defendant was not guilty and would not have to pay the costs.¹⁾

And now I shall speak of my personal contacts with Krauss. I saw him for the first time at the convention of our church body in St. Louis in 1884. He delivered the opening sermon in the stately church building of Old Trinity Congregation that was destroyed by the tornado in 1896. At that time I was a student in my second year at the Seminary, but I still remember that sermon very well and have refreshed my memory by reading it again. It was not a short sermon. If I remember rightly, its delivery took over an hour. There were five parts to it; but I am sure that no attentive listener considered it too long. Krauss had the text Gal. 2:1-10 and answered the question: "How Does a Church Convention Prove Itself to Be a Truly Christian Council?" And I can truly say that even today this sermon deserves attention and reading.²⁾

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In the following years, up to 1893, I saw and heard Krauss repeatedly at the conventions of our general body, which he visited regularly as president of our teachers' college in Addison, and since 1893 at the meetings of our professors' conferences. But while I observed him in those years more from a certain distance, I learned to know him very well when in 1905 he became my older and respected colleague. I remember very well the day when he was installed, although I can hardly call it an installation. Life, also academic life, was very simple in those years. The president called the faculty and the student body together, we sang a hymn, and then he presented the new instructor with a few well-chosen remarks, shook hands with him, and wished him God's blessing for his work. The instructor rose and made a bow, and that was the end of it. But not on this occasion. For the first time, at least as far as I know and remember, the new professor addressed the assembly according to good European and American academic custom, and Krauss, although rather briefly, compared church history with the other theological branches and very modestly, but at the same time very eloquently and fittingly, spoke about the purpose and meaning of historical theology. The next day he began to lecture. His and my periods in the Seminary were quite frequently arranged for the same hour, so that I met him almost daily in the faculty room. And how many briefer and longer conversations did I have with him! How much did I learn from him! This frequent contact extended over more than nineteen years, and more and more I observed that he was an extremely well-read man, not merely in the domain of church history, but also in other branches of knowledge. How much he had read!

And he was also able to give a good account of what he had read. He had made many excerpts in notebooks, which did not require much time and work because he was very facile in shorthand. I also observed that every day he put down in his diary what happened in the Church and in the life of the institution, and while I have not read these diaries, I am quite sure that they must contain valuable historical material. I have often regretted that I did not do the same thing in my fifty years at the Seminary. And very frequently he did not feel the necessity of referring to what he had written and excerpted. It was stored in his wonderful memory; names, dates, titles of books, quotations from religious and profane writers, details of what had happened in affairs and meetings which were not generally known — everything he had at his command through his remarkable memory. I remember very well a characteristic statement which he made to someone else when I was present. As stated, he was a Bavarian, and quite frequently he used the native and forceful expressions of that State. Such expressions often reminded me of my own youthful days, because I was born and reared in a Bavarian settlement and knew the Bavarian dialect quite well. On that occasion — I do not recall the matter — he remarked that in order to remember all these things one must have a brain as large as a barn (*“einen Hirnkasten wie eine Scheuer”*). But if I ever met anybody who had such a brain with regard to remembering things, it was Dr. Krauss.

This wide reading and remarkable memory was of great advantage to him in the chief branch which he taught at the Seminary. What he knew was not simply gathered from other presentations of church history, but he had gone

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back to the sources and therefore was able to present matters in detail and in a very concrete form, as I repeatedly noticed when he spoke at pastoral conferences. And such conference papers were always listened to with rapt attention, while, on the other hand, I am afraid that some of his students did not always sufficiently appreciate and value his lectures in the classroom, partly because they did not understand him well and partly because they did not correctly appraise his detailed presentation. And what I just stated in a general way is particularly true of his favorite study, the history of the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He did not pass by other periods and epochs in the history of the Church. He was well informed about the whole field. He also had an extended knowledge of general history, so that he would have been able to lecture on world history. And he knew German literature very well and the history of that literature, so that he easily quoted passages also from modern poets which were not so well known. When I asked him, as I did repeatedly, where I might find this or that quotation, he was able either to answer the question right away or inform me on the following day. He had a special interest for the past ages, lived in them, had read the Lutheran literature of the Reformation century, particularly Luther's writings, so assiduously and thoroughly that his language was often archaic, perhaps without any intention on his part. Such wide reading and thorough knowledge was the result of a long and diligent life as a scholar.

Hand in hand with his thorough knowledge of events and facts, he also knew to a remarkable degree what books had been published in a certain branch and where to find ma-

terial, especially in the old Lutheran literature. Such knowledge he began to acquire in his years at the university. I happen to know that he devoted his hours of recreation to work for a well-known dealer in new and secondhand books in Erlangen, and I can well imagine how he delved into old Lutheran books. But this love of books was notable throughout his life. When he spied in the hands of a colleague an old book bound in pigskin, he at once asked to look at it and almost regretted that he did not own it. On the other hand, he presented, at least some of his colleagues, with rare or first editions of certain works which he had picked up at some time. I have several such books of which I knew only the author and the title, but which he happened to have in his library, and he very kindly gave me, for instance, the first Lutheran work on Introduction to the Bible. It was an old custom at the Seminary, and is still the custom today, that book auctions were held. Krauss usually attended such auctions, and sometimes he bought an armful of books for a song, quite frequently valuable books, of which the students, for whose benefit such auctions were held, did not know anything. He knew the treasures which are to be found in old Lutheran works, and sometimes, when conversing with him, I thought of the words of another great lover of books, Beale M. Schmucker, the well-known theologian of the Lutheran General Council. Schmucker wrote to his friend Charles Porterfield Krauth, even better known as the outstanding theologian of his church body — the words are quoted by Dr. A. Spaeth in his very interesting and valuable biography of Krauth, his father-in-law —: “How glorious a thing the gathering of books is! I wish our seminary were

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richly endowed and they would appoint me librarian. But enough of books, blessed books, glorious old Lutheran books! Away with all your new books, your books written and printed by steam! Give me your books of the olden time, your venerable, massive tomes, where that noblest of all creatures, the bookworm, hath spent his centuries; your Gothic books, whose mighty, ponderous piles of thought bind heaven and earth together; your books that engender a holy reverence for men that were men, books written by the children who wondrously outgrew their fathers in stature and in favor with God.”³¹ Quite a large part of Krauss’ valuable and rare books were presented by his widow to our Seminary library and to other institutions of our Church. She also remembered, most probably at his request, the library of our Collegio Concordia in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

All this shows, and it can be substantiated by many quotations from what he wrote in our periodicals, that he was a faithful lover of our Church and its activities, particularly in the field of education; and outstanding was his love for our Christian day schools. He was, as stated above, the son of a Lutheran schoolteacher. For twenty-five years he played an important part in the education of our future teachers in our normal school at Addison, Illinois, and his former students will not have forgotten his endeavors in that respect. He was well versed in pedagogy and followed correct and sensible principles. He also knew modern pedagogy, but he was not ready and willing to accept everything propounded by its adherents and occasionally spoke of their aberrations in a drastic way. In general, I must say that all those who knew him well also knew

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that he had a humorous vein and that this came to light quite frequently in a very interesting way, particularly in his characteristic letters. This also appeared sometimes in quite a different way. As a "Director" of a school for boys and young men he must have had a little trouble occasionally. He probably did not always understand the American boy. But I know that on such occasions he said what he had to say and said it in a terse way and then committed the matter to the Lord and did not lose sleep on that account.

And what was the key of all I have mentioned, of his love for the Lutheran Church, of his diligence and his enjoyment of work, which prompted him repeatedly to ask for more lecture periods, of his cheerful mind and mood, of his sound and healthy "Lebens- und Weltanschauung"? It was the Biblical, Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, which he accepted, which he lived throughout a long life, and in the confession of which he departed this life.

For some time we had noticed that he was losing his physical strength, noticeable particularly when he walked stairways. His heart gradually gave out. But he continued his work until he was no longer able to do so, and, after a short confinement to bed, he died at 12 o'clock in the night of October 8 to 9, 1924, having attained an age of 73 years, 4 months, and 18 days. He was active 44 years in the educational field, 25 years in Addison and 19 years in St. Louis. During these years he wrote quite a number of articles in the *Schulblatt*, our present *School Journal*, in the *Lutheraner*, and in *Lehre und Wehre*, the predecessor of our *Concordia Theological Monthly*, chiefly in the field of Bible history and church history, among others "The History

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of Joshua"; "The Meaning of the Book of Ruth"; "Pope Pius X" (after his death, in 1914, and containing in its five installments also much information about the election of a Pope); "The Centennial of the Birth of Wilhelm Loehe" in 1908.⁴⁾ He delivered a number of very interesting and valuable papers at synodical conventions, and I call attention to the essays on "Are There Contradictions in the Bible?" "Bible Reading in Christian Families"; "Israel in the Desert"; "Life of the Patriarch Joseph"; "Mary the Mother of Our Lord"; "Luther and Carlstadt."⁵⁾ In 1911 he published a valuable history of the Christian Church, chiefly biographical, under the title *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, which Pastor G. E. Hageman sometime after Krauss' death published in English, *Sketches from the History of the Church*. Both editions contain a number of chapters on the history of the Lutheran Church in America. Krauss himself had selected the remarkable and very interesting illustrations for them, and they were printed in Germany, where some of those illustrations were available. In the preface he states why he selected the life story of some Catholics, for instance of Loyola, and recalls approvingly what Dr. Walther said to him some thirty years before when discussing with him Leopold von Ranke's *History of the Popes*: "No one can write a history of the Popes, even if it would be a Ranke, who does not consider the Pope as the Antichrist." His interesting reminiscences *Meine Schuljahre* I have mentioned above. The title of Doctor of Divinity, conferred upon him by Northwestern College in Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1915, was certainly well deserved.

He was buried in St. Louis, October 12, 1924. Everything

about his funeral was simple, as he had desired, corresponding to his way of living, but just in its simplicity, very dignified. The day before his funeral his body had been brought from his home to the Seminary building, where he lay in state, students being the guard of honor for twenty-four hours. At the academic exercises Dr. Pieper, the president of the institution, delivered a very suitable memorial address.⁶⁾ Then the body was carried to Holy Cross Church near by, followed in procession by the members of the faculty, the board of trustees, the student body, and many pastors and teachers of the city and neighborhood. His confessor, Dr. C. C. Schmidt, preached on Mal. 2:7, brief addresses were made by representatives of our Church and its institutions, and Pastor Paul Koenig, the assistant pastor of Holy Cross Church, committed the body to its last resting place on Concordia Cemetery. The student chorus sang, but they did not sing a sentimental, modern anthem, but the old great Lutheran chorale "Jesus Christ, My Sure Defense," again in keeping with his wishes, because he was a connoisseur and lover of the Lutheran chorale, of the words as well as of the tunes (Krauss had been a member of the German Hymnbook Revision Committee in 1917); and in the procession from the Seminary to the church the coffin was not carried by hand, but six vigorous students lifted it to their shoulders and in this way took it to the church. This again would have found favor with him, who undoubtedly had often seen this old Bavarian custom in his youthful days. It was in accordance with the request of another well-known theologian who did not desire to be carried to the cemetery by the handles of the coffin, as if carrying a carcass (*cadaver*), but to be

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carried high on the shoulders as in a triumphal procession.

In August, 1875, Krauss married Ottilie Wille, the sister of Pastor H. Ph. Wille, whom he left a widow after many years of a happy and blessed married life. She passed away in St. Paul, Minnesota, but was buried in St. Louis at his side. He also left a nephew whom they had adopted as a son, Prof. W. A. Dobberfuhr of our Concordia College in St. Paul, Minnesota, and an adopted daughter. I certainly shall never forget Dr. Krauss.

CHAPTER IX. — A Leader
of the Wisconsin Synod:
Adolph Hoenecke



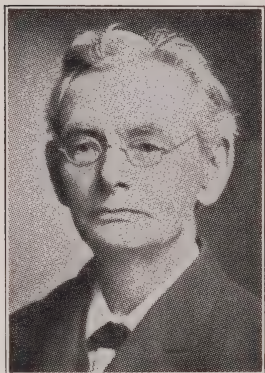
AS I LOOK BACK upon my life, one of the very pleasant experiences in it is the fact that for many years I had the opportunity to get acquainted with leaders of the Wisconsin Synod, so closely connected with our own church body in the Synodical Conference. Among such leaders I have in mind particularly Dr. Adolph Hoenecke, professor at, and president of, its theological seminary, first in Milwaukee and then in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin; Pastor John Bading of Milwaukee, president of the Wisconsin Synod and president of the Synodical Conference; Professor A. F. Ernst, president of, and instructor in, the Northwestern College of the Wisconsin Synod in Watertown, Wisconsin; Pastor Philip von Rohr, almost lifelong pastor of a large church in Winona, Minn., and the successor of Bading as president of his synod; and Pastor Carl Gausewitz of St. Paul and Milwaukee, for a number of years president of the Minnesota Synod, which later became the Minnesota District of the Joint Synod of Wisconsin and other States and the successor of Bading as presiding officer of the Synodical Conference. I pass by some notable men that have gone to their reward and some that are still living. My contacts with these leaders go back to the very beginning of my ministry, because I have always enjoyed

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attending the meetings of the Synodical Conference where they were present, beginning with the convention of this body at Detroit in 1886. I also had occasion to visit conventions of the Wisconsin Synod repeatedly and was only too happy to call on some of these men in their homes. It was indeed a fortunate arrangement that most of these men were almost always delegates to the conventions of the Synodical Conference, and in this way I was able to get quite well acquainted with them. I may also add that several of them were very close friends, especially Hoenecke and Bading, and I have been told that the two, together with another well-known pastor of the Wisconsin Synod in Milwaukee, Theodore Jaeckel, minister of the old Grace, or Muehlhaeuser, Church, formed a little "Kraenzchen" and came together somewhat regularly in order to discuss church affairs and other matters of general interest. But of all these men, I must single out Adolph Hoenecke, because not only in my opinion, but also in the universal estimation of the Wisconsin Synod men, he was the leader of that church body as pastor, as professor, and as writer. And the history of his life is quite interesting, as I gathered from occasional remarks made by himself and from others who knew him much longer and much better than I did. He was certainly one of the prominent leaders of confessional Lutheranism in our country. As far as I know, no extended biography of him has ever been written, and what has been stated with regard to his life and his life's work is buried in religious periodicals and theological reviews, which very often are read only by those who are interested in church history and bent upon doing research work.

Hoenecke was born February 25, 1835, in Brandenburg,

Germany, and after graduating from the *Gymnasium*, or college, entered the university at Halle. There he became a student of the well-known and much-beloved Professor August Tholuck and, coming from rationalistic surroundings, in this way was drawn into the "awakening" that took place in the twenties of the last century and was shown the way to life, as Hoenecke himself confessed in his *Dogmatics*.



Adolf Hoenecke

But Tholuck was a mediating theologian ("Vermittlungstheologe") and a member of the United ("unierte") Church, and Hoenecke undoubtedly was to some extent also influenced by him in this direction, particularly since he belonged to the inner circle of students whom Tholuck invited quite frequently to take a walk with him. Naturally Tholuck did all the talking but—so I have been told—when taking leave thanked the students for the interesting

conversation. (I may apply this to Hoenecke himself when I visited him and listened to his most interesting conversation.) One of Hoenecke's student friends, as he once told me, was Herman Hering, who became the well-known professor of practical theology in Halle and the editor of a notable series of textbooks of practical theology for which he himself wrote the *History of the Sermon* and the *Theory of the Sermon* (Homiletics). There was indeed in those years still a professor in Halle who took a definite Lu-

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theran stand: H. E. F. Guericke, who was well acquainted with some of the fathers of our Missouri Synod, particularly with Pastor G. H. Loeber, whom he visited quite often in his home in Eichenberg before the Saxon emigration took place, where also my father, who was private tutor ("Haus-lehrer") in Pastor Loeber's house, became acquainted with him. But although Guericke was a confessional Lutheran and became more so in the course of years, he never was appointed a full professor on account of his standpoint and probably was also not an outstanding lecturer; at least, he seems to have had no influence upon Hoenecke.

After Hoenecke had finished his theological studies, he spent several years in Switzerland — if I remember rightly, he also found his highly educated wife in that country — and then, at the beginning of the sixties, he came to America in order to serve the Lutheran Church in America. At first he ministered to a congregation near Watertown, Wisconsin, but soon became professor in the theological seminary of the Wisconsin Synod that was combined with Northwestern College at Watertown. In those days the Wisconsin Synod was not what it has been for the past seventy-five years, but it was in the midst of confessional discussions, because a number of their pastors came from institutions in Germany that were not confessionally inclined. They had been students at the Mission House at Barmen or were emissaries of the "Langenberger Gesellschaft," a society organized for the purpose of doing mission work among the scattered Germans in North America, or were sent out by the Berlin Mission Society. As such they had the privilege of returning after several years of service in America and obtaining a position in the State

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Church of Prussia without having lost their regular claims of seniority to a pastorate by being outside the country for some years.

It might have been expected that Hoenecke, who, though still a young man, very soon became a leader in his church body on account of his natural gifts and abilities and his thorough training and education, would be inclined to favor the unionistic character and tendencies of his Prussian home. But that was not the case. The conditions in his church body and in his pastoral work prompted him to undertake a thorough study of the Scriptures and the Confessions of our Church. He may also have been influenced by what he learned and heard of other Lutheran theologians in America; but he was always a very independent thinker, and there is little doubt in my mind that he was brought to his thoroughly Lutheran standpoint through his own sound and deep studies. Thus he was enabled to assume the right leadership and to place his Church on a soundly confessional basis, so that in the succeeding years it severed its connection with the Lutheran General Council, which had seceded from the old Lutheran General Synod, came closer to the Missouri Synod, and finally became one of the founders of the Synodical Conference.

After some time the seminary at Watertown was discontinued, the students of the Wisconsin Synod came to Concordia Seminary in St. Louis for their theological training, and Hoenecke accepted a call to a growing church in Milwaukee. But more and more he came to be recognized as the leader of his church body. He also took a prominent part in the affairs of the Synodical Conference, which had been formed in 1872 and which had as one of

A Leader of the Wisconsin Synod

its purposes the organization of State synods ("Staaten-synoden") of its different constituent church bodies. Somewhat connected with this goal was the idea of having *one* theological seminary at St. Louis, and Hoenecke naturally was looked upon as the Wisconsin Synod man to be called to St. Louis, and he actually received such a call. But the plan did not materialize, and I have it on good authority — in fact, from his own statement many years later — that Hoenecke, who was opposed to the *one*-seminary plan, was not inclined to teach in St. Louis at the side of Walther, and, having known both men, I can very well understand his position. The Wisconsin Synod re-established its own seminary and opened it at Milwaukee in September, 1878, and Hoenecke became its professor, with A. L. Graebner and E. Notz as his colleagues.

About the same time the controversy broke out which rocked the whole Lutheran Church, not only here in America, but also in other countries, the controversy regarding the doctrines of predestination and conversion. And it should never be forgotten in the Missouri Synod that Hoenecke at once took the position that he and his church body must join the Missouri Synod and as brethren battle with them, and it is a well-known fact that this controversy, which also affected the Wisconsin Synod, resulted in excellent doctrinal statements on his part, as evidenced, for instance, in the report of the convention of the Wisconsin and Minnesota Synods at La Crosse, Wisconsin, in 1882. It was clear from the beginning that he maintained over against all rationalizing and synergistic tendencies the cardinal principles of *sola Scriptura* and *sola gratia*, Scripture alone and grace alone. Although he knew the dogmaticians of

the Lutheran Church very well, as is now very clear from his *Dogmatics*, published after his death, he considered them only as witnesses to the truth, and Scripture is and must remain the only *principium cognoscendi* and the only *norma doctrinae*, the only principle of theological knowledge and the only norm of church doctrine. Thus he was an excellent witness of the truth in these latter days of wrong ideas and gross errors in doctrinal matters. He was first and foremost and all the time a "Bibeltheolog," a Bible theologian, and for three decades instructed his students accordingly. For some years, while instructor and president of the seminary, he remained in charge of his congregation, but after 1890 he devoted all his time and energy to the institution.

This activity of Hoenecke in doctrinal discussions and controversies must be regarded very highly, since by nature and inclination he did not like controversy. He also was not a friend of what he called "theological journalism," but whenever it became necessary, he took up the cudgels, and with his remarkable promptness and quickness at repartee and on the basis of his deep and solid theological principles and understanding of Scripture, he refuted his opponents. Therefore he also took over, in 1903, the editorship of the *Theologische Quartalschrift*, the theological quarterly of his synod. It so happened that I was present at the convention of the Wisconsin Synod at La Crosse when the resolution to publish the periodical was passed, and I gained the impression from his own statements that he would rather not engage in such work; but it was considered necessary, and he wrote excellent articles for that theological review. He also took part in the intersynodical conferences at

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Detroit in 1903 and in Fort Wayne in 1905. On this latter occasion I again had the privilege of being present and listening to his clear-cut statements. One evening I took him for supper to the home of my father-in-law, Professor F. Zucker, and in the animated conversation also found out that he was much interested in collecting stamps, undoubtedly as a sort of mental relaxation. He continued to work on the *Quartalschrift* till he was called home.

I have indicated that Hoenecke was particularly gifted with dialectical ability and penetration, and his lecture work, his writings, and also his sermons bear full evidence on this point. He was an excellent preacher, also an outstanding teacher of homiletics, and even in later years, when he entered the pulpit rather rarely, he wrote sermon outlines in order to exercise his gifts and to be able to present the eternal truths of a Biblical text in a logical and clear-cut manner. But, as I once heard from his own lips, he thought it a difficult task, which should not be demanded ordinarily of a minister, to deliver two solid and well-elaborated sermons on one day. He probably sided with the famous Scotch preacher who after many years in the ministry was asked on one occasion how long it took him to write that sermon and answered: forty years. It was also his practice to reduce any matter of doctrine or practice to a simple, clear concept, even in private conversation, without any occasion to make public use of it. Such mental clarification seems to have been a necessity for him.

This may also have been the reason why he did not publish his *Dogmatics* in his lifetime. He was continually reading and studying new publications, and he felt that he must come to an understanding with them. It was a rare

privilege to listen to him in such discussions when paying him a visit, which I was able to do on several occasions. I hardly had a chance to say anything, which I did not regret at all, but was more than repaid for my visit by hearing what he had to say. I think others have had the same experience. I shall also never forget how courteously he treated me, the much younger man, on such occasions. He was a perfect gentleman. Several times I was present when Dr. Hoenecke and Dr. Pieper conversed, and again I must say, it was a rare privilege to listen to their conversation and discussions, both of them being such clear and keen-minded theologians. But since he always moved within the bounds of Scripture, he never used his dialectic ability and the clearness of his mind in matters which are beyond human comprehension, and he never tried to make such things clear to human reason, as, for instance, the doctrine of the Trinity, of the Lord's Supper, and also, to refer to it again, the doctrine of election and predestination. He was satisfied that God kept some things hidden and that it was not the function of the theologian to make them in any way intelligible to reason. Such matters must not be made reasonable, but simply be believed, and therefore the first principle in his theology was this: to take and understand Scripture simply as it reads, and with that he was satisfied.

Fortunately, his two sons, Professor Otto Hoenecke at the Lutheran Seminary in Saginaw, Michigan, and Pastor Walter Hoenecke of Milwaukee, edited his *Dogmatics* after his death, and this great work in four volumes must be considered and remain a standard work of Lutheran theology alongside of Dr. Francis Pieper's *Dogmatics*. Dr. Pie-

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per valued Hoenecke's work very highly.¹⁾ I have often regretted that not more of his excellent, very original, and thoroughly expository sermons have been published. He had a certain shyness or aversion to have a work of his printed, a "Druckscheu," a dread of going into print, as one of his sons expressed it, but it was also, I think, an indication of his modesty. I sometimes wish that such shyness were prevalent in our days when "there is no end of making many books" and rushing into print. Only one volume of sermons on the Wuerttemberg Gospel Selections was published during his lifetime and some outlines on the Epistles and Gospels. The preface to these sermons was written by his intimate friend and co-worker Pastor John Bading, who stated: "The author did not on his own initiative resolve upon going before the public with a volume of sermons. The members of our Synod know that at synodical conventions the wish has been expressed more than once that Professor Hoenecke publish a volume of sermons. It is also known that he has always refused to comply with this wish. Not until Synod passed an outright resolution to that effect and pastors' conferences and private groups had urged him to undertake this work, did he resolve 'to honor this general request and to submit in God's name what has been desired.'" But even then he did not prepare the manuscript himself, but only submitted the sermons which he had delivered during his last year as pastor of St. Matthew's Church in Milwaukee, and Pastor August Pieper, his colleague at the seminary in later years, copied them for the printer. Also his sermon outlines, sketches of a number of years, were not prepared by him for the printer, but were copied from old envelopes by his son Otto,

undoubtedly a considerable task. (I can well understand this habit, because my father and other pioneers of our Church also made use of every little scrap of paper, as they had learned to do in early days of poverty.) After Hoenecke's death his sons Otto and Walter edited two series of his Lenten sermons.²⁾

I regret that I never heard Hoenecke preach, but I am thankful to this day for what I heard from him at a convention of his own District Synod in Milwaukee, when he also tried, as was sometimes his custom, to lead the essayist into his own trend of thought, and for his remarks at a general convention of his church body in La Crosse and at the conventions of the Synodical Conference. The first writing of his which I read, if I remember rightly, was the elaborate doctrinal essay delivered by him at the meeting of the Synodical Conference in Milwaukee in 1894: "Two Theses on Enthusiasm" ("Schwarmgeisterei"), in which he very trenchantly describes the different phases of "enthusiasm."³⁾

In 1903 the Northwestern College at Watertown and our Seminary in St. Louis conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and there was certainly no man better qualified to receive that distinction, which was rather rare within our church circles in those days. When in the same year he attended the conferring of the same degree in St. Louis on Professors Pieper, Stoeckhardt, and A. L. Graebner by the Norwegians, which according to old Lutheran custom was done in the Latin language, I remember that after the celebration Hoenecke said to me that he would have been pleased to have had a little Latin discussion with regard to the matter, a "lateinisches Ten-

A Leader of the Wisconsin Synod

tamen." I met him on that occasion at the Union Station — no automobile conveyance in those days — and took him to Dr. Stoeckhardt's home. Dr. Stoeckhardt also regarded him, as I know, very highly.

Hoenecke died on the 3d of January, 1908, after a brief illness, aged 73 years, and I was sent to Milwaukee to represent our faculty at his funeral. Pastor von Rohr, then president of the Wisconsin Synod, and Professor J. Ph. Koehler, Hoenecke's oldest colleague at the Wisconsin seminary and later his successor as president of the institution, were the speakers. Besides, quite a number of representatives spoke, and some of them preceded me. And it so happened that one of them covered just what I had intended to say and had written out, and another one, just before I was called upon to speak, said what I had then hurriedly thought out — an experience which I have never forgotten. Such things happened also in our Synod, and I am glad to note that the number of speakers on such occasions is more and more limited nowadays.

Besides the two sons of Dr. Hoenecke mentioned above, Otto and Walter, five grandsons are ministers in the Wisconsin Synod. One of his daughters is married to Pastor A. C. Haase of St. Paul, Minnesota, and a second one to Pastor J. W. Pieper of Stillwater, Minnesota.

CHAPTER X. — A Professor of the Norwegian
Church at Concordia Seminary:
Frederick Augustus Schmidt



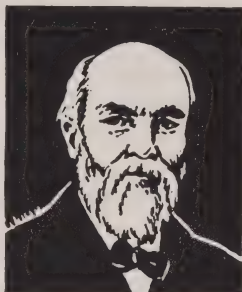
IN THE HISTORY of Concordia Theological Seminary in St. Louis, to which I devoted some chapters in my earlier book, Professor Frederick Augustus Schmidt should not be overlooked. He was not only an alumnus of our institution, but also a teacher of theology in its halls for four years and later became one of the prime movers, in fact, I might say, the originator, of the Predestination Controversy. I met him on two occasions and have in my files some letters of his addressed to my father and to myself.

Schmidt was born in Leutenberg, Thuringia, Germany, January 3, 1837, came to our country with his widowed mother when he was four years old and settled in St. Louis, where his grandmother had resided for several years. He attended the day school of Old Trinity Congregation on Lombard Street in St. Louis in 1842 and later entered the log-cabin college at Altenburg, Perry County, Missouri. I was told that he studied Greek at the age of eight, Hebrew at eleven. He was graduated from our Concordia College, located at that time in St. Louis, in 1853, taught Latin for one year at this college, and then attended Concordia Seminary, both institutions being combined in those days, and was graduated in 1857. For four years, from 1857 to

Professor of Norwegian Church at Concordia Seminary

1861, he served as pastor in our Synod and was then called as teacher of religion, languages, and mathematics to Luther College of the Norwegian Synod, which had been opened in the Half Way Creek parsonage near La Crosse, Wisconsin, September 1, 1861.

But how did Schmidt, who was born in Germany and educated at our institutions in Altenburg and St. Louis, get into contact with the Norwegians, become connected and remain with that Church for sixty-seven years, and for more than fifty-one years be engaged in Norwegian educational and religious work? That is an interesting, I might almost say a unique, story, which I ascertained after some inquiries. In later life Schmidt himself marveled that in his early ministry he should be called to give almost all his life to a people not his own. While he was in St. Louis, a pioneer Norwegian clergyman, F. A. Rasmussen, who was then stationed at Lisbon, Illinois, had learned that there were some countrymen in St. Louis and occasionally came here to conduct religious services and also to supervise the publication of his paper *Kirke Tidende*. Schmidt was then in his twenty-first year and was completing his theological studies at our Seminary. In some way Rasmussen and Schmidt became acquainted, and later Schmidt was engaged without salary to read proof of the *Kirke Tidende*. Of course, he had to



F. A. Schmidt

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study the Norwegian language, of which he had no knowledge whatever, but this was not difficult on account of the great similarity between Norwegian and German, and before long he was also able to preach to the little Norwegian colony in St. Louis in their own language. After his graduation he was called to a German Lutheran Church at Eden, New York, and after two years went to Baltimore Maryland, and became pastor of St. Peter's Lutheran Church, where the services were conducted entirely in English. He had been there two years when he had a visitor, and a conference with that visitor altered the course of his career. The visitor was the well-known Pastor H. A. Preus, president of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod. He had gone to Washington and later to Baltimore to see a German Lutheran clergyman, but the man whom he sought was away from home, and his daughter, possibly at a loss to know how to entertain her guest, brought him to Schmidt. They conversed in English, and when President Preus once halted for a word, Schmidt supplied it in Norwegian. "What! Do you know Norwegian?" asked Preus in astonishment. After Schmidt explained how he had become acquainted with this language, they had a long talk, at the conclusion of which Preus insisted that Schmidt go West and become a teacher at Luther College. After careful consideration Schmidt accepted that unexpected offer and, as stated above, at Half Way Creek, where the "college" was located in very primitive pioneer surroundings, he studied Norwegian diligently and soon was able to conduct classes in that language without difficulty. He had also been recommended for this position by Professor Walther in St. Louis as a brilliant young man and well versed in

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the language of this country. An interesting description of the beginnings of that well-known college, transferred to Decorah, Iowa, in 1862, is given in Dr. Karen Larsen's biography of her father, Dr. Lauritz Larsen, the other teacher and president of the institution.¹⁾

Schmidt remained at Luther College until 1872, when he was appointed professor for the Norwegian students at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. In those years the Norwegian Synod had no theological seminary of its own, but, being closely connected with the fathers of our Synod, sent their prospective students to St. Louis, and quite a number of the later pastors of the Norwegian Synod received their theological education at our institution, even after the Norwegians in 1876 had started their own seminary. They founded the seminary in Madison, Wisconsin, and Schmidt was called as its professor and remained with it until the division in the Norwegian Church took place in 1886 as a result of the Predestinarian Controversy. He then continued as theological professor with the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood in Northfield, Minnesota, from 1886 to 1890, and when in the latter year the "Forenede Kirke," or United Church, was organized, he became professor at Augsburg Seminary and in 1893 at the United Church seminary at St. Anthony Park, St. Paul, Minnesota, until he retired in 1912. He died in St. Paul May 15, 1928, at the age of 91 years.

But our chief interest lies in the fact that for some years he taught at Concordia Seminary and later became the chief opponent of our Synod in the controversy which began in 1878 and lasted many years. Schmidt was a student of Professor Walther and, as stated above, his colleague from

1872 to 1876. He was undoubtedly a gifted man, being at home in three modern languages: German, English, and Norwegian. With much energy and thoroughness he studied the old Lutheran dogmaticians from Luther to Hollaz. At our Seminary he taught Biblical Introduction, Propaedeutics, or, as the branch was called in those days, Encyclopedia and Methodology, and was especially engaged in conducting the preaching exercises and debates in the English and the Norwegian language. In those days he wrote very ably against the doctrinal standpoint of the old Iowa Synod under the title: "The Iowaan Misunderstandings and Camouflages" ("Bemaentelungen"). These articles first appeared in the *Lutheraner* and later were reprinted in a separate pamphlet.²⁾ He also participated in the conference with English Lutheran ministers in Gravelton, Missouri, from which finally resulted the "English Conference of Missouri," then the "English Synod of Missouri," which joined our general body as the "English District" in 1911. Occasionally he opposed Walther, so I was told, especially with regard to the doctrine of usury. Undoubtedly he was an able teacher, as some of his students have told me, and was well versed in dogmatics and in church history. He always maintained an interest in our Synod and sent two sons to our college in Fort Wayne. I knew both of them quite well. One of them, August M., discontinued his studies and entered the police department in Fort Wayne and finally became chief of police. The other one, Herman T., left Fort Wayne in the years of the controversy and entered Capital University in Columbus, Ohio, but did not enter the ministry. He became a businessman, the manager of a piano company. A third son, Paul G. Schmidt, whom I

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met in later years and who gave me some valuable biographical data, is professor at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, and the manager of the well-known St. Olaf Chorus. On a certain occasion (I do not remember the particulars) Professor Schmidt came to Fort Wayne to look after his sons, and there I saw him for the first time. The second time was at the Intersynodical Free Conference at Fort Wayne in 1905, which Schmidt attended, although he did not participate in the discussions. But on this occasion I met him personally, and he reminded me of the fact that he had in the days of the controversy corresponded with my father, of whom he spoke very highly, and was otherwise very friendly.

I think, however, that in this brief chapter his activity in the Predestinarian Controversy should be mentioned, although a full record of this important matter is a different story and cannot be given in this connection. As stated above, Schmidt always retained an interest in our Synod and would have been glad to return to a teaching position at our Seminary; and when in 1878 two new professorships were to be created, he had hopes of being elected to one of them, and, in fact, had written a postal card to that effect to President H. Wunder of our Illinois District, who at that time was a member of the Electoral College.³⁾ Why Schmidt was willing to leave the Norwegians and either go to St. Louis or to Columbus, Ohio, as instructor, I do not know. But he was not elected to a professorship in St. Louis for reasons which I can only surmise. I think that our men were afraid that there would not be full harmony between Walther and Schmidt, and they also felt that they should not rob the Norwegians of one of their outstanding

teachers. But be this as it may, Schmidt soon accused the Missouri Synod of crypto-Calvinism. But this is, again, another story, and if it should seem, as it is, a hard accusation against Schmidt, it is a fact that a number of controversies have arisen in the Church that had their first beginning in personal matters. In the year when I entered the faculty, Dr. Pieper wrote a very instructive article: "The Personal Element in Doctrinal Controversies," in which he quoted Luther and the words of the Apology of the Augsburg Confession: "We often see that from the most trifling offenses tragedies arise. . . . And many heresies have arisen in the Church only from the hatred of the teachers" ("dass Prediger aufeinander sind verbittert worden").⁴⁾ I think, however, that Schmidt always had synergistic leanings and wavered with regard to the clear Biblical doctrines of conversion and predestination and the excellent exposition of these doctrines given in the Formula of Concord; at least, I remember that Dr. Pieper once stated as much and mentioned the fact that in one of the discussions Schmidt had said to him: "Just give me a little hook" ("Puenktlein") "on which I can hang the self-determination" ("Selbstentscheidung") "of man," that is to say that conversion and salvation of man are not the result of God's grace alone, but depend in a certain sense on the decision of man himself.

Of course, some correspondence ensued between Schmidt and the St. Louis men, and a conference of all the theological faculties within the Synodical Conference was held in 1881, but Schmidt was not won over to our standpoint, and he also started a paper of his own, under the title *Altes und Neues*, in which he assailed the doctrinal standpoint of

the Missouri Synod and was much more outspoken in this respect than formerly. Even after this periodical had been discontinued, he once more wrote an article in the same tenor: "A Request to the St. Louis Theologians,"⁵⁾ to which Dr. A. L. Graebner replied in *Lehre und Wehre* under the heading: "The Battle for Grace Alone," *sola gratia*.⁶⁾ But this, again, is another story.

Schmidt retired from active teaching in 1912, but continued his interest also in our Synod up to the time of his end. And the last personal contact between him and myself took place in 1922. In that year I had written an article in the *Lutheraner* of June 27 about the seventy-fifth anniversary of our German hymnbook, the first edition of which had appeared in 1847, and I mentioned the fact that this edition was very rare and that I had never seen a copy of it. Thereupon Schmidt's daughter, with whom he lived after the death of his wife, wrote me a very courteous letter, in which she stated that her father had a copy of this 1847 edition, published by H. Ludwig of New York, which was given him by his parents when he left to attend college at Altenburg. He kindly offered to send me that copy if I cared to have it. I certainly was anxious to have this first edition of our excellent German hymnbook in my library, and so I gratefully accepted his kind offer and wrote him through his daughter a letter of thanks. The book is now in my library, and I shall see to it that it will finally be placed in the collection of our Concordia Historical Institute. His daughter, Mrs. R. A. Johnson, stated that it was rebound many years ago and had been used by her father every day.

I may add that Schmidt was married to Caroline Sophie Allwardt, the sister of the well-known Pastor H. A. All-

wardt, who also was an alumnus of our institution of the year 1865, but in the Predestination Controversy turned against us, joined the Ohio Synod, and was very influential in this synod as pastor in Lebanon, Wisconsin, as president of the Wisconsin District of his church body and one of the founders of the practical theological seminary of the Ohio Synod in St. Paul, Minnesota. This institution was closed not many years ago after the union of the Ohio Synod with the Iowa Synod, which Schmidt had assailed many years before. I have also been told that he never agreed with the so-called "Opgjoer," the document which formed the basis of the merger of the different Norwegian church bodies in 1917 under the name of "The Norwegian Lutheran Church of America," now the "Evangelical Lutheran Church."

CHAPTER XI. — Bygone Church Celebrations
The Tragic Story of One
of the Orators:

Herman Baumstark



WE ARE LIVING in times when rallies, mass assemblies, and great celebrations are almost the order of the day, and it seems to me that sometimes the idea is prevalent that in bygone days the fathers and founders of our Church did not think of such matters, at least did not celebrate important events in the history of our Church on a larger scale. But I must say that if I go back in my memory and think of some of the celebrations at which I was present, our fathers indeed knew how to observe such festival days and in some respects even did more than we are doing nowadays. Church publicity is not an innovation of our time, and while the former generations never stooped to undignified publicity and never were anxious to make the front page of daily papers, they were also intent on bringing the history of our Church to the community. In the following reminiscences I shall confine myself to events that happened more than sixty years ago. Later celebrations may find another writer.

As far as I know, the first celebration, though on a smaller scale, was the 300th anniversary of the so-called Augsburg Religious Peace Decree (Augsburger Religionsfriede). Lu-

therans know that this event brought to a close the religious warfare that began after Luther's death and guaranteed to the Lutheran Church liberty and independence from Roman oppression. It was therefore a very happy event, blessed with great results, as one can easily find out in reading the church history of that period. While I, of course, do not remember in any way how that anniversary was celebrated in 1855, nine years before I was born, I know that the *Lutheraner* printed several articles on the matter, and Pastor Gottlieb Schaller, perhaps the most gifted poet among the fathers and teachers of our Church, wrote an order of service for the school children, of which I still have a copy in my files. Undoubtedly the anniversary was observed in a festive manner, although there are no extended records of it, so far as I know.¹⁾ The memorial medal prepared for that occasion was probably the first one issued in our Church, and since it is quite rare, I am adding a reproduction of it.

The next celebration that occurred in our Church was the 350th anniversary of Luther's Reformation in 1867. It was observed throughout our Church, particularly also by the children in our schools, for whom Pastor J. A. F. W. Mueller wrote a special "Jubilee Booklet" and to whom Pastor C. J. H. Fick dedicated several songs in a special publication. I shall presently return to it.²⁾

In 1877 a very impressive celebration took place in our churches commemorating the 300th anniversary of the Formula of Concord, that important document of our Church, its last confessional writing, which brought to a close the various doctrinal controversies that had troubled the Church for thirty years. It was celebrated throughout our Synod,



HISTORIC MEDALS

1. Medal Coined in 1855
2. Medal Coined in 1867
3. Medal Coined in 1880

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and a memorial volume appeared in the same year covering not less than four hundred pages.³⁾ It is indeed worth while to examine such a memorial publication, and I regret that the later festivities in our Church were not described in a similar way. Of course, from my own experience I can speak only of the celebration in the Saginaw Valley among the well-known Franconian congregations. I was at that time a boy of thirteen years, had been confirmed, and intended to enter the Fort Wayne college in the fall. The individual congregations had their own jubilee celebration in the forenoon of May 29, the anniversary day, and even before the celebration and also afterwards they stressed in the Sunday services, and especially in the catechetical "refresher courses" ("Christenlehre"), the importance of the Formula of Concord. I remember that my father, instead of the regular sermons on the Catechism and in the "Christenlehre," spoke to his flock in the second service on Sunday afternoons about the history and the contents of that wonderful confessional writing. But the chief celebration took place in Saginaw, the center of the surrounding rural congregations, and I shall never forget the impression it made upon me. The participating congregations were Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, Frankenhilf, East Saginaw, Bay City, Amelith, Sebewaing, and, of course, Saginaw City itself. A great procession was formed. Three brass bands furnished the music. At the front rode the marshal of the day. After him followed the man with the chief banner, prepared especially for that occasion, showing in the center a picture of the Bible, on the left hand the inscription "Evangelical Lutheran Church" "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown," on the right

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hand the words "Anniversary of the Formula of Concord" and the names of the six writers of that document: Chemnitz, Selnecker, Musculus, Andreae, Chytraeus, and Koerner. Then followed an old man; I remember him well. He was a veteran member of the Frankenlust church, the father of Teacher J. M. Helmreich, who was well known in later years in Michigan, Wisconsin, and California. On a silken cushion he carried a copy of the oldest edition of the Book of Concord, published in 1580. Then followed the pastors of the churches, and they were followed by the united young men's societies, again with their own flag, and a very long procession of all the school children, also carrying appropriate banners and flags of the individual congregations. At the side, marshals on horseback preserved good order. Finally followed the festival wagons.

The terminus was the City Park, about a mile from Holy Cross Church in Saginaw. Each congregation had its section, where they arranged for luncheon, and in the afternoon the musical organizations, the church choirs, and the school children played and sang, and between such offerings a number of speakers spoke about the history and contents of the individual articles of the Formula of Concord. All these addresses were given in German, but finally an English oration followed to tell the outside visitors in their own language the significance and importance of the festival. It was after six o'clock in the evening when the celebration was ended with the hymn "Now Thank We All Our God." Again a procession formed and went back to Holy Cross Church, and a brief celebration with brief remarks expressed the gratefulness of the participants that the Lord

of the Church had given such a beautiful festival to His people.

In 1880 a double jubilee was observed, the 350th of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 and the 300th of the Book of Concord of 1580, but while I still have the medal coined for this occasion, I do not recall particulars of this celebration. The *Lutheraner* carried a number of articles on these events, and jubilee medals were coined by our churches in Baltimore and by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.⁴⁾

But another celebration, which I still remember very well, was the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth in 1483, celebrated throughout our Church in November, 1883. At that time I was a student at the Seminary in St. Louis, and while the churches of St. Louis did not arrange for a larger celebration, as on other occasions, because they had imposing festivities when the new Seminary was dedicated in September of the same year, they all observed the birth of Luther in their churches with proper festival sermons. I remember very well the fine anniversary sermon of Dr. Walther, preached in Old Trinity Church, November 10, which has been printed, but I particularly remember one of Dr. Stoeckhardt's powerful sermons on this occasion in Holy Cross Church, and just as a sample of his way of preaching, I insert the theme and the parts, which show that he knew how to cover all phases of a matter. Stoeckhardt said: "We thank God that He has protected and guarded Luther's doctrine against all the attacks of the Evil One,

"1. Against the lies and terrors of the Antichrist;

"2. Against the deception of the sects and enthusiasts;

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"3. Against all false and glistening pietism;

"4. Against the rationalism of this century."

A most interesting memorial volume about this celebration in our Church was printed under the title of *Luther-Denkmal* (Luther Monument), consisting of four parts. It contains 46 complete sermons, then a number of extended outlines, a complete description of the festivities in 12 prominent centers of our Church, and finally six poems in memory of Luther.⁵⁾ And therefore I said at the beginning that in the interest of history I wished that we would also have records of later celebrations.

But now to return to the celebration of 1867. I like to think of that celebration, because it is the earliest thing which I remember. I was three and a half years old, but still can picture to myself the gathering in the churchyard at Frankenmuth and how I very proudly wore the medal coined for that occasion. I still have that medal, and I think it was the second of such medals issued by our Church. Later the issuing of medals to commemorate such occasions became almost a regular custom. And it is a well-known fact that the Lutheran Church of former centuries coined a large number of such memorial medals. Our Seminary has a truly remarkable collection of them, gathered in the course of many years by an alumnus of numismatic fame, Dr. C. A. Graeber, and presented to our institution by the sainted Pastor Otto Hanser and his wife.

In St. Louis also there was a celebration arranged by the students of the Seminary and the speaker of the day was Professor Herman Baumstark, an instructor in the Proseminary of the Practical Division of the institution. He de-

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livered his oration in Latin and stressed the point: "Luther shall be and remain the rector and foremost teacher of our Seminary." In rather few words he spoke very beautifully and impressively on Luther. At the request of the students the oration was printed and was obtainable from Henry Niemann, who later became the son-in-law of Dr. Walther and a well-known pastor in Cleveland, Ohio, and President of our Central District.⁶⁾

Why do I mention Baumstark in this connection? But very little is known of him nowadays. The only fact with which some of the present generation may be familiar is this, that he was instructor at our institution and that two years after that celebration he joined the Roman Catholic Church. Some of the critics of our Church have pointed to the fact that two of our professors became Catholics, and since I have been asked about the matter again and again, it may be of interest to record something about it. Professor Walther probably would have said what he actually did say a few years later when Dr. Edward Preuss, the successor of Baumstark, left our Church and also turned Catholic. At that time Walther remarked: "But is it not a great disgrace for us Missourians that again one of our men leaves us and turns Catholic? We answer: Not at all; on the contrary, this is a great honor for us, because everyone can see from it that hypocrites and frauds may enter into our midst, just as Judas chanced to get among the Apostles, but that such persons cannot remain with us."⁷⁾

I do not know much of Baumstark's antecedents. He was the son of a Catholic father and an Evangelical mother in Baden and became a member of the United State Church in that grand duchy, studied theology in his state university

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of Heidelberg, but was never satisfied in a religious way. Because of some old-Lutheran influence he left the State Church, joined the separated Lutherans, continued his studies at the University of Leipzig with the help of fellow Lutherans, and there became acquainted with Professor Walther of St. Louis, who in 1860 was in Germany on account of his health. As a result of Walther's description of church conditions in America Baumstark decided to emigrate to our country in order to serve the Church and be free from the unsatisfactory church conditions in his homeland. Walther, as Baumstark himself tells us, was glad to take him along. They arrived in St. Louis in August, 1860, Baumstark enrolled in the Seminary and studied until spring, 1861, and on account of war conditions and for other reasons was then graduated and called to St. John's Church at Quincy, Illinois. After two and a half years he accepted a call to Aurora, Illinois, and served the local Lutheran congregation, but in both cases without much success. He seems to have been a rather peculiar character, as I gather from his own biography. In the fall of 1864 he received a provisional appointment and in March, 1865, a permanent position as instructor in the so-called Proseminary at St. Louis, but was not a member of the theological faculty; there was even some discussion as to what title he should have, and he was called "Professor" according to American custom. There he remained from 1865 to 1869, teaching German, Latin, history and geography, and later also gave some courses in the Seminary proper in Hebrew grammar, writings of Lutheran dogmaticians, and interpretation of the New Testament, and wrote for our church periodicals and the well-known family magazine *Die Abend-*

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schule. In the *Lutheraner*, for instance, he wrote several articles on the "History and Doctrine of the Most Important Modern Sects."⁸⁾ But in the latter year he joined, together with his brother Reinhold, a gifted attorney in Germany, the Roman Catholic Church; his brother, on June 30, 1869, in Constance, Germany, and Herman, September 12, 1869, in St. Louis, making public confession in the German Catholic St. Joseph's Church and receiving Baptism and Communion in accordance with the Catholic custom. Walther, who in those years was president of the St. Louis institution and also President of our Synod, gave a full account of the whole matter in his report to the synodical convention of 1869.⁹⁾ From this it appears that Baumstark, while still teaching in the Seminary and intending to continue to do so, had had secret dealings with Catholic priests in the city with the view to joining their Church. (This began, as I gather from his own presentation, in April of that year and became accidentally known in June.)¹⁰⁾ Walther at once regarded it as his duty to prohibit him from teaching, and in an exchange of letters Baumstark confessed that he had indeed considered such a step for a long time; he stated his motives, namely, that only in the Catholic Church he found a satisfactory authority over against the arbitrariness and divisions of Protestantism; he admitted that he had indeed had conferences with Catholic priests, but also stated that he was still open to correction and instruction, if given in a calm and sensible way, and, if convinced, would desist from taking the step which he had in mind. Walther then presented the whole matter to the Board of Control of the institution, and they considered the matter to be an extreme case requiring action and deposed Baumstark from

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his office. Walther also called attention to Baumstark's rather reserved and morose character (Baumstark himself speaks of his own "uebertriebene Gruebelei," extreme brooding, in those days), and stated that Baumstark had become more and more dissatisfied with his subordinate position at the Seminary, but also mentioned that Baumstark a few days previous to that occurrence had asked the publisher of the second volume of his church history to find another author for it. In the first chapter of that volume, which was already in print, Baumstark had stated (a few months before his apostasy), when speaking of two historical events: "One of these two great historical phenomena is the papacy, the greatest work of Satan towards the destruction of the Church, most cunningly devised. The other work is the Reformation, the most magnificent work of God for the destruction of the works of the devil since the days of the Apostles. Thus the history of the Church from Constantine the Great to Pope Boniface III (323–606 A. D.) is separated as a distinct, peculiar epoch from the other periods. And this epoch obtains its peculiar character . . . through the gradual development of the tyrannical anti-Christian dominion of the Pope in Rome, until at the close of this period it finally appears clearly and unequivocally in its anti-Christian form and manner." Walther's report to our Church closes with the prayer that God, for Christ's sake, would let Baumstark find repentance and recover from the snare of the devil. Walther also states that he himself, as well as Baumstark's pastor (probably Pastor Brohm), did everything to convince him of the error of his way. Baumstark himself mentions that theological discussions took place between him and our theologians, that he was offered

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a rest in the country, that he was asked to visit and confer with the able and highly respected Pastor Frederick Wyneken in Cleveland, who might set him right, and he was actually on his way to the railroad station, the church paying the expenses, but changed his mind and returned. But after all endeavors were of no avail and after he had joined the Catholic Church, the Lutheran congregation, in its general meeting, declared him as one who had excommunicated himself and announced this fact publicly from the pulpits.

It will interest some of my readers to know that one of the men who took part in these discussions and tried to convince Baumstark of his error was Dr. Edward Preuss, who had lately come from Germany to St. Louis, who emphasized particularly the historical matters and made some impression on his opponent, as he himself acknowledges.¹¹⁾

An explanation as to why the two Baumstark brothers took this step was given in a book which they published in the early seventies under the title *Unsere Wege zur katholischen Kirche*, Our Paths to the Catholic Church. This book caused quite a sensation at that time, as I have been told, and was also given an extended and trenchant review in our theological periodical by Professor F. W. Stellhorn.¹²⁾ Just lately I read the book, for which I searched for years, when a friend by mere accident got hold of the rare volume of 221 pages. I cannot treat of the matter extensively, but I am sure that I am justified in saying that Herman Baumstark never had a true conviction of the Scriptural Lutheran doctrine and that he, as well as his brother, believed that they must have "a living, infallible authority" in matters of faith and could find such an authority only in the Roman

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Church. He discarded the Biblical doctrine of justification and was a synergist in matters of salvation. I must also say that what appealed to him and attracted him first to our Church was the fact that our body stood firmly and unequivocally on Scripture as expounded in Luther's and in the Confessional writings of our Church. He also had a high opinion of Professor Walther. But he also states in his book: "I was not able to get away from the simple fact that Christ Himself, according to the reports of the Bible, has directed us men, not to the written works of the Apostles as the final norm, but to the teaching office of the Church." And it is a peculiar fact that what prevented him from joining the Catholic Church at an earlier date was the Lutheran doctrine of the Roman Antichrist; and even as a Catholic he concedes that the Lutheran interpretation of 2 Thessalonians 2 and similar passages "has for it not a small semblance of truth." But I am also convinced that although he claimed to know correctly the Lutheran doctrine, he never, even in his mind, understood this doctrine, much less possessed it in his heart. For some time, at least, everything became questionable and doubtful to him.

I may add that Baumstark, in 1867, published the first volume of a history of the Christian Church.¹³⁾ The preface was dated at Quincy, Illinois, July 10, 1866, and the book was published in St. Louis in 1867 by the well-known publishers who did the printing for our Church at that time, August Wiebusch and Son. Baumstark states in the preface that 105 pages of the book were written by another author and had already been stereotyped, but that author, whose name he does not mention, was not able to finish it, and

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Baumstark completed the work. I have in my library a copy formerly owned by Dr. Pieper, who has underscored some sentences in the preface, as it seems. The work was to comprise, according to Baumstark's plans, five volumes, but, of course, nothing appeared after the first volume had been published.

Of Baumstark's life after his leaving our Church I know but very little. He was married, but his wife, at least for some time, seems to have taken a different standpoint. He first worked as a journalist, writing in July and August, 1869, for the German radical newspaper *Die neue Welt*, then, in September, as stated above, joined the Catholic Church and took over the editorship of the local German Catholic paper *Herold des Glaubens*. When the two brothers published their book in October, 1870, the title page states: "Reinhold Baumstark, Kreisgerichtsrat in Konstanz" and "Hermann Baumstark, Professor in Cincinnati, frueher in St. Louis." This is the last information which I am able to record. The motto of the book in German translation is the well-known, beautiful word at the beginning of the remarkable *Confessions of St. Augustine*, there indeed used in an entirely different sense: "Tu fecisti nos ad te, Domine, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te," Thou, O Lord, hast created us unto Thee, and our heart is without rest until it rests in Thee.¹⁴⁾

CHAPTER XII. — Synodical Conventions During
My Student Days
1878 — 1881 — 1884



IT IS ONLY NATURAL that in looking back on events which happened in my lifetime I should also record some reminiscences of the general conventions of our church body. These have always impressed me very much, and, as stated in some other connection, I have been able to attend them for more than sixty years, from 1881 to 1944. I shall not record the chief things which took place at these conventions, because they can be read in the printed reports; but some details which I observed and some reminiscences of the leading men whom I saw and heard on those occasions come back to my mind when I think of these meetings.

THE CONVENTION OF 1878 IN ST. LOUIS

As the son of a parsonage and of parents who were always vitally interested in the affairs of our church body, I learned quite a number of things when I was a mere boy, but those do not readily recur to my mind. However, I distinctly remember that such conventions quite often formed the table talk. The first recollection of the importance of such a convention was in my early college days, in 1878, in Fort Wayne. In that year the meeting had been held at St. Louis, and a number of delegates passed through Fort Wayne,

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especially some of those that lived in the East or had sons in the college. I remember how glad we were to see these venerable ministers who visited our college dining hall, and if they did not take their meal with us, they at least spoke to their sons or to the students coming from their congregations. And gradually we heard of the important deliberations at that convention. This was the year when Dr. Walther relinquished the office of President of Synod on account of much other work, particularly in connection with his teaching at the Seminary and his writing for the church periodicals. He delivered his last presidential address, an elaborate paper calling attention to serious matters and conditions, and interspersed, as was his custom, with pertinent quotations from Luther. He insisted that he could not do justice to both offices, must be relieved of one, and would not have a vote of thanks extended to him when leaving the President's chair. Pastor H. C. Schwan of Cleveland, the presiding officer of the large Central District, comprising Ohio and Indiana, was elected President of the general body. But I did not see him until three years later at the convention in Fort Wayne in 1881. From occasional remarks I gathered that the delegates had been especially interested in the election of two new professors for the Seminary at St. Louis, an election that had grave results in the near future. Pastor Francis Pieper, who had been in the ministerial office in the Wisconsin Synod three years, was selected for the chair of dogmatics, the idea being that he should serve as a kind of understudy to Professor Walther, who was getting along in years. How did this come about? Such things, of course, are not recorded in the official minutes, but I know from very good informants that Pieper

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had impressed some of our leading men during his student days. The text for his very first sermon, which, according to the custom of those days he had read to Walther, was Is. 55:1-3, that beautiful text of the grace of God, and I can well realize that his interest in this cardinal doctrine and his presentation of it in his very first sermon made such an impression on his teacher that he kept his eye on that young man; and I also have it upon good authority that later, when Pieper attended the lectures of Walther in dogmatics, this impression and Pieper's interest in that special branch of theological learning were deepened. Pieper, in his student days, as I also happen to know, had good friends in Zion Church, which was served in those years by one of the prominent pastors of the city, Pastor George Link, and who was also favorably impressed by that young student; at least, I know that Pastor Link spoke very favorably of Pieper on the floor of the convention. That was one instance when a professor was elected by Synod itself; the usual procedure is, of course, to elect through an electoral college. But Synod always reserved the right and privilege to elect professors when in convention assembled. Quite a few members of Synod in those days considered it the best and safest way to elect through an electoral college, and I myself hold this opinion. As far as I remember, such a direct election has not taken place since that convention except in 1887, when Professor Pieper became Walther's successor as president of the seminary. Synod was very fortunate in getting Pastor Pieper, and the services which he rendered during the fifty-three years of his connection with the institution will never be forgotten in our history. I have spoken about this in my first volume.

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For the English professorship, Professor M. Loy of the theological seminary of the Ohio Synod at Columbus, Ohio, which at that time was a member of the Synodical Conference of North America, was elected, and when he declined, Pastor Rudolph Lange of Chicago, who had been a candidate with Dr. Loy, was called. It was felt that more attention should be given to the English language, especially after Professor F. A. Schmidt, who from 1872 to 1876 was professor of the Norwegian Synod at the St. Louis Seminary, had left and accepted the appointment to a professorship in the newly founded seminary of the Norwegian brethren in Madison, Wisconsin. Pastor Lange had been teacher of the English language for a number of years at our Fort Wayne college. He had also written a textbook for instruction in that language and was well qualified to teach theology in English. At the same time he was a gifted and learned theologian with a special liking for philosophy, and this also stood him in good stead. I have also spoken of him in my first book.

This convention of 1878 was a momentous convention. But this holds true even in a greater degree of the convention of 1881.

THE CONVENTION OF 1881 IN FORT WAYNE

This was the first convention of our general body which I was privileged to attend, and, as stated above, since that time I have been present at every convention up to 1944. This I consider indeed a great privilege, and I cannot express in a few words how much I profited by attending these assemblages. The first four I attended as a visitor and was not present at every session. From 1893, when

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for the first time I was elected as a ministerial delegate, up to 1944, I attended in an official capacity, and, as far as I can remember, was present at every session from beginning to end unless prevented by committee work. I was indeed only a college student in 1881, but in those days the two upper classes fortunately received the *Lutheraner* and *Lehre und Wehre* gratis. We read them and learned to take an interest in the affairs of our Church, and especially the 1881 convention impressed itself indelibly on my mind and memory, although I was then only seventeen years of age. We college students sat in the balcony and watched the proceedings. It was a memorable occasion. Our church body was in the midst of a very serious and far-reaching doctrinal controversy about predestination and conversion. The General Pastoral Conference that had been called by our President Schwan for September, 1880, in Chicago, had clarified the issue and thereby rendered a great service.¹⁾ The doctrine had been treated exhaustively in our church periodicals. Our ministers and congregations with but very few exceptions were agreed in the matter, and at the 1881 convention action was to be taken. There the well-known 13 theses formulated by Dr. Walther and the St. Louis faculty were discussed and finally accepted as an expression of the doctrinal standpoint of our Church. Only a few men dissented. So this convention went down in the history of our Church as the "Gnadenwahlssynode," the predestination convention. After the convention a second pastoral conference of the ministerial delegates present at the convention and others who came just for that purpose was held, and the matter was once more discussed with the opponents of our doctrinal standpoint in our own midst.

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Professor F. A. Schmidt was not a member of our Synod and therefore was not present. Professor F. W. Stellhorn had left Concordia College in Fort Wayne a few months before and had accepted a professorship at the theological seminary and Capital University of the Ohio Synod at Columbus, Ohio. They were the protagonists, as I might say, in this controversy. Present at this conference and the preceding synodical convention were, as far as I remember, Pastor C. H. Rohe of Detroit, Pastor H. A. Allwardt of Lebanon, Wisconsin, Pastor H. Ernst of Michigan City, Indiana, Pastor P. Eirich of Albany, New York, and Pastor J. H. Doermann of Yorkville, Illinois, whose son John was a classmate and good friend of mine and later became a well-known pastor of the Ohio Synod in Washington, D. C. All of them stated, sometimes in a touching way, what benefits and blessings they had received from and enjoyed in the Missouri Synod, but realized that now they had come to a parting of the ways. In this way I became acquainted, from a distance of course, with these men, who very soon thereafter joined the Ohio Synod. But, above all, I learned to know our own leaders, and I shall never forget the impression made upon me by Dr. C. F. W. Walther, the leader in the debate, Pastor George Stoeckhardt, who at that time was minister of Holy Cross Church in St. Louis and lecturer at the Seminary, Professor Francis Pieper, who had been at the Seminary three years. They were the chief spokesmen. But I also saw again and heard the veteran Professor A. F. Craemer of our Springfield institution, saw for the first time President Schwan conduct the deliberations of the convention in his own effective and inimitable way, and other prominent men of whom I cannot speak at

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present. For the text of his presidential address at the convention Schwan took the words of the Lord recorded 2 Cor. 12:9: "My grace is sufficient for thee, for My strength is made perfect in weakness," and in his official report to the assembled body he stated what had taken place during the past three years. And even college boys like myself, who at that time did not know too much about the matter, got the distinct impression and conviction that our Church stood firmly upon the Word of God and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, especially the Formula of Concord. I shall never forget the great earnestness that animated our fathers and their holy concern for the truth, nor the fact that they did not consider doctrinal matters of minor importance or as matters merely of different terminology and open questions, in which men may be of different opinion, as is nowadays so often the case. It was a combat for the two cardinal principles of the Reformation: *Sola Scriptura*, *sola gratia*, Scripture alone, grace alone. There was also not the least sign of defeatism, but only victoriousness; and although everyone regretted that in the course of the next months and years several ministers and churches would leave our Synod, even we felt that in the last analysis this controversy was a great blessing. I cannot enter here upon the matter itself — that is a story of its own, indeed worthy to be studied and considered very carefully. (For my own use I have put down in writing the origin and history of this controversy according to the sources.) Everyone felt that clarity and conviction had been achieved, that all statements in former years which had not been sufficiently clear and definite had given place to sound and convincing statements and that our Church in eliminating all synergism had

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rendered a great and distinct service to the Lutheran Church in general and to the Lutheran Church of America in particular, especially to our own body and to our associates in the Synodical Conference, which had been organized nine years before. It is well known that our brethren in the Wisconsin Synod under the leadership of their distinguished theologian Professor Adolph Hoenecke were our able, true, and faithful companions and fellow combatants, if I may use that term.²⁾

This doctrinal matter was the chief thing at this convention and at the pastoral conference which followed. The other matters were taken care of in the proper way and, just to mention one thing, the resolution was passed with great unanimity and joy to put up a new seminary building at St. Louis, which was started in 1882 and finished in 1883. And Synod also resolved to call a *professor extraordinarius* for the Seminary, who was to be a part-time lecturer in Old and New Testament interpretation, a position filled so acceptably during the following years by Pastor Stoeckhardt. In 1887 he was called to a full professorship.

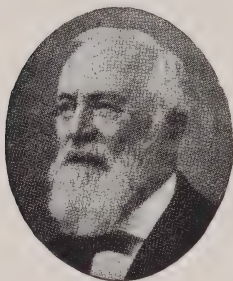
But also the next three years, from 1881 to 1884, were fraught with great importance and brought, so to speak, an aftermath to this convention. In 1881 the Ohio Synod at its meeting in Wheeling severed its connection with the Synodical Conference. But the Norwegian Synod, of which Professor F. A. Schmidt was a member, was still connected with it, and the important convention of the Synodical Conference in 1882 approached. The other constituent members of the Synodical Conference, the Wisconsin Synod and the Minnesota Synod (the Illinois Synod had joined the Illinois District of the Missouri Synod in 1880), were in

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full agreement with our Synod. These three constituent members of the Synodical Conference instructed their delegates not to sit in conference with one who had accused them and their church bodies of Calvinistic heresy, namely, Professor F. A. Schmidt. I remember very well that at the very beginning of my theological studies, in September, 1882, the delegates from St. Louis soon left for that convention of the Synodical Conference in Chicago. The feeling was still very tense, and we students could not fail to notice this. We took a very definite interest in these matters, which engaged our instructors so much. I also remember that Dr. Walther at a Sunday dinner table remarked to one of the guests that he had not slept a wink the past night. But the outcome of that important meeting and the result are well known. Professor Schmidt was present, but was not given the floor, and the whole Synodical Conference agreed to hold to the pure, Biblical Lutheran doctrine of predestination and conversion. Professor Schmidt later complained that no heretic since the days of Arius had been treated in such a way; but our fathers were firm in their conviction that no one could be considered a brother and no fellowship could be maintained with one who erred in a central doctrine of the Christian faith and had for some years attacked such doctrine. They took a definite stand over against all unionism. But they also declared that although they could not deal with Schmidt as a brother, they would be willing to have a colloquy and discussion with him outside the meetings of the Synodical Conference. However, nothing came of that. Naturally the controversy was continued in the church periodicals and reviews. But peace was established in our own church

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body and in the Synodical Conference, and the constituent members of the latter felt even more closely united than before. The Norwegian Synod indeed severed its connection with the Conference in 1883, not, as was stated expressly by their leading men like the venerable president U. V. Koren, on account of disagreement — Koren, Larsen, and others took the same stand as the Missouri Synod and the Synodical Conference in the matter; but since there



P. L. Larsen

were a number of men in their own church body² who took a different attitude, they thought it best to sever their connection with the Synodical Conference in order to settle the differences and difficulties in their own midst. The Norwegian Synod never rejoined the Synodical Conference, but for a number of years continued their fraternal relations, after the men

who took a different doctrinal standpoint had left the body and organized their own church body, the Forenede Kirke, the United Church; and they continued their friendly relationship until a new controversy took place, which finally led, in 1917, to the organization of the present large Norwegian Church, an amalgamation of three church bodies, known since 1944 as the Evangelical Lutheran Church. But this again is another story.³⁾

THE CONVENTION OF 1884 IN ST. LOUIS

This was the second convention of our Church which I attended in my student years. At that time I was in my

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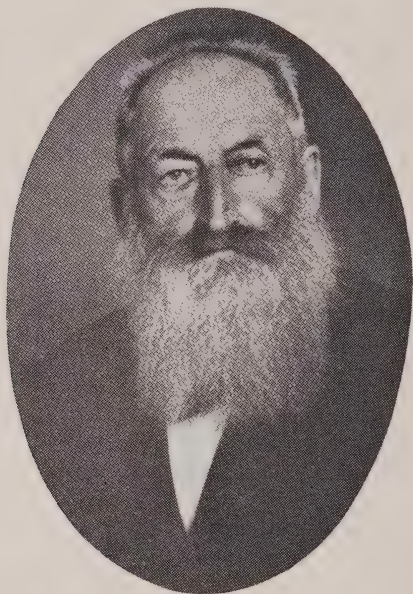
second year at the Seminary in St. Louis, and the meetings were held in the newly erected seminary building, in the beautiful chapel, which accommodated all the delegates on the ground floor, while the visitors sat in the balcony. This was the first convention after the Predestination Controversy had practically come to an end, and I remember very well the opening address of President Schwan on the words of the 126th Psalm: "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." ⁴⁾ Dr. Walther was still living, and Professor Francis Pieper read an excellent paper: "Against the Modern Falsification of the Lutheran Scripture Principle," ⁵⁾ his first essay at a general convention, to be followed almost regularly in succeeding years by other essays until he read that beautiful paper at the last convention which he attended at River Forest, Illinois, in 1929, two years before his death, "The Open Heaven," closing with truly moving words and the stanza:

Just as I am, without one plea
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come, I come.⁶⁾

At this convention in 1884 the indefatigable Secretary of Synod, Pastor August Rohrlack, was still in prime vigor. He was a unique character, and those who saw him at the Secretary's table and heard him read his elaborate minutes will never forget him. He did not write shorthand, but put down everything in longhand, and I have it on good authority that he sometimes stayed up until two o'clock in the morning in order to have the minutes ready for the next day. He had peculiarities in style, some of which may still be seen in the resolutions of Synod passed in his days ("Kanzlei-

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stil”), and one of his favorite words, as the printed records will show, was the Latin-German word “respective.” At that convention an amusing incident happened, which I remember well. Rohrlack had given a résumé of Professor



August Rohrlack

Pieper's essay and closed with a stanza from the hymnbook. When the minutes were to be approved, Pieper stated that he had not made use of that stanza in his essay, and then Rohrlack confessed in his own inimitable way that he had taken the liberty of adding that stanza because it fit so well (“weil er so schoen passte”), and, of course, Pieper

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was the first one to smile, and the rest of the delegates did the same.

At this meeting I saw and heard some of the men of the second generation who made quite an impression upon me. Among others I recall as a delegate to this convention Pastor John Henry Sieker of the historic St. Matthew's Church in New York, quite a powerful speaker. He was educated at the Gettysburg Seminary of the old Lutheran General Synod, became a member of the Minnesota Synod, and joined our body after he had accepted the call to New York. Later in my life I had some correspondence with him and learned to know him even better when I heard him preach in old St. Matthew's Church on Broome Street, was kindly invited by him for dinner and shown the remarkable documents and church records, partly in the Dutch language, of that oldest Lutheran church in America. Pastor Paul Roesener wrote a short but interesting biography of him.⁸⁾

As stated above, Dr. Walther was still living when this convention was held and was as active as always. But it was the last convention he attended. During the days when our Delegate Synod met again in 1887 he passed to his eternal reward on May 7 and was buried May 17. Of this I have also spoken in my earlier volume.⁹⁾ A few years after his demise the St. Louis congregations erected the Walther Mausoleum in Concordia Cemetery on the lot where their beloved pastor and teacher lies buried at the side of his devoted wife, Emily, nee Buenger, who passed away two years before him. Inside is a life-size statue of Walther made of white Italian marble.¹⁰⁾

But concerning the other matters taking place at that

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convention of 1884 I must refer the reader to the printed report. Among other things President Schwan presented the so-called *Promemoria* for our colleges, giving the Director, or President, more duties and thereby also increasing his responsibilities. It was one of the longest, if not the longest, session which our church body ever held, for I remember that the delegates were still assembled on Saturday night of the second week when the gaslights were burning.

CHAPTER XIII. — Reading Luther
A Noted Editor of Luther's
Works:
Albert Frederick Hoppe



ONE OF THE COURTEOUS REVIEWERS of the first volume of these reminiscences stated that he would have liked to hear something about my reading of Luther and its influence upon me. I had indeed mentioned this matter only in passing. But I think it is worth while to devote a chapter to it. A former student, after having read the book, wrote me: "Although I've been in the ministry already over two years, I have done very little reading of Luther's works. Your book has encouraged me to do so." And I must say that if I consider anything important for theologians and progressive laymen, it is this, that our students and pastors make it a point to read and study Luther. I know that a number of them are doing this, but their number should be greater, and in my opinion the language in which Luther wrote most of his works should not be a handicap. Difficulties are placed in our way in order that we overcome them.

But in speaking about this matter I must start with a confession, and although it was not a very pleasant experience, still I am not ashamed of it, because I profited by it. During my student days at the Seminary in St. Louis I was once called upon to give a short oration on Luther,

not very long after I had taken up my theological studies. I think it was the student celebration of the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth, in 1883. I delivered my oration, but soon found out that Dr. Walther was not satisfied with it, in fact, criticized it; and one of the pastors who attended the celebration thought that I had not as yet entered at all into the spirit of Luther. And that was a fact. While I knew, of course, the chief events of Luther's life, we had not been taught as yet to read and to study Luther. Those handy little editions of Luther's writings, aside from *Luthers Volksbibliothek*, published by our own Church, were not as yet available. In our college days we did not read anything of Luther, as far as I can remember. And so it was a fact that my knowledge of Luther was very superficial. But this incident set me to thinking. I said to myself: You want to become a minister of the Lutheran Church; you are convinced that Luther was the Reformer of the Church; you have heard that he was the greatest theologian since the days of the Apostles, and you have not as yet started to read his own words. I felt persuaded that I could not begin with this soon enough. And so I began to read Luther in my student days, and such reading and studying of Luther became—I am glad to say—a habit. I only regret that I did not devote even more time to this important matter.

Very helpful in this respect was the influence of some of my teachers. I recall that Professor Guenther, in his course on the Symbolical Books of our Church, particularly the Smalcald Articles and the Large Catechism, but also on other occasions, remarked in his curt but impressive way: "So gewaltig wie Luther redet doch keiner," no one speaks

in such a powerful way as Luther; and then he read a passage from Luther's writings. When later I had exegetical courses with Professor Pieper on the Psalms and on Romans and with Professor Stoeckhardt, who was then still pastor of Holy Cross Church but lectured in our senior year on the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament and on Ephesians, I was again and again brought into contact with Luther's marvelous Bible expositions. And quite naturally Dr. Walther, who in my second year became my professor in dogmatics, referred again and again to Luther, and we had to read carefully the quotations from Luther's works contained in his own edition of Baier's *Compendium*, the textbook in dogmatics in those days. I remember particularly that on one occasion he urged us to read carefully and study Luther's Preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans and even to commit sections of it to memory, for instance, the well-known description of faith. I followed his urging, and at the present day I am still able to repeat from memory outstanding passages of that remarkable introduction, which has also been repeatedly translated into English, by Dr. C. A. Hay, Dr. P. Anstadt, Dr. W. H. T. Dau, and Dr. C. M. Jacobs in the Philadelphia edition of Luther's works. Walther remarked in this connection that in his opinion the Preface to Romans was the best thing written outside the Bible. It is indeed a key, not only to St. Paul's most important letter, but to the whole Scripture, and, as is well known, was the means of John Wesley's conversion. Wesley says in his *Journal* under date of May 14, 1738: "I went very reluctantly to a society in Aldergate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. About a quarter before 9 o'clock, while he was

describing the change which God works in the heart by faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed; I felt that I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.”¹⁾

My former students will remember that I repeated Walther's words to them, urged them particularly to study this Preface, and had a special reprint of all the Prefaces to the Books of the Bible made for their collateral reading. The translators and editors of the Philadelphia edition of Luther's works knew what they were doing when they included these Prefaces in their edition. Just from these Prefaces it is very clear that Luther as a Bible reader has a very keen and penetrating eye. He has seen the things of the Spirit that are in the Bible, and he knows how to tell what he has seen. They are indeed prefaces, or introductions, not leading round about the Scriptures, but into the Scriptures themselves. They are, as one of the editors of the Berlin edition of Luther's works expresses it: “*Meisterstuecke der Kleinmalerei*,” masterpieces in miniature painting.²⁾

When I entered the ministry, I tried to be more systematic in my Luther reading. Since I was a Lutheran minister and had to preach every Sunday, I read Luther as a part of my daily studies, either in preparation for the sermon or to increase my theological knowledge. It has become the habit of my life first to read the Bible in a translation, formerly in German, in the last thirty years in English; then on three days of the week I read at least three verses in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and on the three remaining days at least six verses in the Greek New Testament; and this

was followed, if at all possible, by a section in Luther. My lifelong friend Ferdinand Rupprecht, with whom in my earlier years I corresponded quite regularly on such matters, once stated that he could not devote much time to Hebrew, since he had to teach school, but he spent the time available for reading on Luther and urged me to do as much as possible in that respect. And his Luther studies stood him in good stead when for many years he was the efficient house editor of Concordia Publishing House. Very soon I found that I profited immensely from such Luther reading and at the same time enjoyed it more than any other theological literature. Thus I read Luther's Church Postil, when, according to the custom in my Church, I preached on the Gospels for two years and on the Epistles in the third year. I also read the House Postil on the Gospels, and soon I learned almost to prefer it to the Church Postil. I think I was led to do this by a remark of Dr. Pieper, that the House Postil contained not only excellent thoughts for sermons, but also a wealth of theological information. It seems to me that the House Postil is somewhat neglected, and I am glad that it was translated into English by Professor E. Schmid of Columbus, Ohio, many years ago and published by the old Ohio Synod with a Preface by Dr. M. Loy. Then I told myself that I was a *pastor*, a *Seelsorger*, and very often would be called upon to give pastoral advice. This led me to Luther's so-called catechetical writings and the so-called "reformationshistorische" treatises, pertaining to the Reformation and its history and development. I do not remember how often I have read his writings on "Ehesachen," or marriage problems; his famous treatise "To the Councilmen of All Cities in

Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools," a masterpiece written in the interest of secondary education; his open letter "To the Christian Nobility"; his tracts on the "Babylonian Captivity of the Church," a truly evangelical presentation of the doctrine of the Sacraments on the firm basis of Holy Scripture; "Whether Soldiers, Too, Can be Saved," so important in the days of the world wars; "Secular Authority, to What Extent It Should be Obeyed"; and similar writings too numerous to mention, and, above all, that unique gem, the Magna Charta of the Reformation, "On Christian Liberty," where the great Reformer (on 37 pages in the Philadelphia edition) sets down two propositions concerning the liberty and the bondage of the spirit: "A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none," and, "A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant to all, subject to all." Thomas Jefferson perhaps got some ideas for the Declaration of Independence when browsing, as he is said to have done, in the study of Pastor F. J. Schmidt of St. Michael's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia and probably reading, among other things, just this tract of Luther. Luther himself stated in his remarkably courteous and humble dedicatory letter to Pope Leo X, written September 6, 1520: "Finally, that I may not approach thee empty-handed, blessed Father, I bring with me this little treatise published under thy name as an omen of peace and good hope. . . . It is a small thing if thou regard its bulk, but, unless I am deceived, it is the whole of Christian living in brief form, if thou wilt grasp its meaning." ³⁾

When I took up liturgical studies, my guidebook became, and is to this day, Luther's famous "Deutsche Messe und

Ordnung des Gottesdienstes," German Mass and Order of Service. I required the reading of this and other liturgical writings from my classes in liturgics and had a special reprint made for them, because Luther, while following the established Order of Service of the medieval era, familiar to the people and dear to them, yet changed it from the wrong and actually idolatrous Mass of the Roman Catholic Church into a truly evangelical "Gemeindegottesdienst," or congregational service, with the *Word* the center of it and stressing what God is doing to us and not, in the humanizing tendency of our days, what we are doing to God.

Very soon Luther's exegetical writings attracted me very much, and I made it a point to read as soon as possible at least the most important works. One of the first, if I remember rightly, was his great Commentary on Galatians, of which I read the briefer and the more elaborate edition, and to which I returned again and again when giving an exegetical course in the Seminary on this Epistle. I cannot refrain from repeating what is well known to historians, that this commentary wielded a tremendous influence on John Wesley's brother Charles, the excellent hymnist of the English-speaking Church, making him sure of his salvation through faith in Christ. The story is recorded in John Wesley's *Journal*, where we read:

"William Holland tells how he went round to Charles Wesley's with Martin Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. 'I carried it round to Charles Wesley, who was sick at Mr. Bray's, as a very precious treasure that I had found, and we three sat down together, Mr. Charles Wesley reading the Preface aloud. At the words "What, have we,

then, nothing to do? No; nothing! but only accept Him who of God is made unto us Wisdom and Righteousness and Sanctification and Redemption” there came such a power over me as I cannot well describe; my great burden fell off in an instant; my heart was so filled with peace and love that I burst into tears. I almost thought I saw our Savior. My companions, seeing me so affected, fell on their knees and prayed. When I afterwards went into the street, I could scarcely feel the ground I trod upon.’”

Charles Wesley writes May 17, 1738: “Today I first saw Luther on the Galatians, which Wm. Holland had accidentally hit upon. We began and found him nobly full of faith. . . . I marveled that we were so soon and so entirely removed from him [Luther] that called us into the presence of Christ, unto another Gospel. Who would believe our Church [the Church of England] had been founded on this important article of justification by faith alone? I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine, especially while our Articles and Homilies stand unrepealed and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away.” Charles Wesley continues: “Luther on Galatians . . . was greatly blessed to me. . . . I labored, waited, and prayed to feel who loved me and gave Himself for *me*.” And on the 21st of May he writes: . . . “I now found myself at peace with God and rejoiced in hope of loving Christ.” There can be no doubt that the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith without works is the source of many of Charles Wesley’s hymns.

I must also mention that John Bunyan, the famous author of *Pilgrim’s Progress*, gives a beautiful testimony to the value of Luther’s works. He writes in his autobiography:

"The God in whose hands we are all our days and ways did cast into my hands one day a book of Martin Luther; it was his commentary on the Galatians; it was so old that it was ready to fall piece from piece, if I did but turn it over. Now I was pleased much that such an old book had fallen into my hands, the which when I had it but a little way perused, I found my condition in his experience so singularly and profoundly handled, as if the book had been written out of my own heart. This made me marvel; for thus thought I: This man could not know anything of the state of Christians now, but must needs write and speak this experience of former days. . . . But of particulars I intend to say nothing now, only this: Methinks I do prefer this book of Martin Luther upon the Galatians, excepting the Holy Bible, before all the books that ever I have seen, as most fit for a wounded conscience." Even in recent years a prominent Episcopalian rector called on our editor of Luther's works, Professor Hoppe, told him that he had picked up Luther's Commentary on Galatians, had read it with great profit, and asked him where he might obtain other writings of Luther in English. Therefore Dr. F. Pieper is right when he says: "The most powerful human writing, as on the doctrine of justification, so also on the doctrine of the Law and the Gospel, is Luther's longer commentary on Galatians." ⁴⁾ Fortunately this great commentary of Luther was published in an English translation as early as 1575, approved and prefaced by Edwinus (Edwin Sandys), Bishop of London, has been printed again and again in England and in America, and recently an abridged translation by Dr. Theodore Graebner has been prepared and printed.

Speaking of Luther's Bible interpretations and their influence on me, I cannot pass by his exhaustive commentary on the first book of the Bible, on which he was engaged for ten years and which he finished November 17, 1545, just three months before his death, February 18, 1546, saying in the last paragraph: "This is the dear Genesis. May it please our God and our Lord that others after me do better work. I am no longer able to; I am weak. Pray God for me that He will grant me a good, blessed end." ⁵⁾ I cannot in a few words say how much I learned from that wonderful exposition, not only with regard to the Biblical book itself, but to theology in general. Of course, I did not read this commentary uninterruptedly. It is too long, and one who is not as yet a student of Luther might get somewhat tired; but after reading the exposition of some chapters, I turned to New Testament commentaries, and particularly the sermons on St. John's Gospel became my favorites. I have never read a better exposition of the term "Logos," or "Word," John 1:1, than in Luther's opening chapter; and I cannot say too much of his fascinating sermons on the farewell discourses of the Master, John 14-17. And just to mention another work: nothing has been written on the Ninetieth Psalm, that powerful and impressive presentation of sin and death flashing and thundering through the ages, that can be compared with Luther's exposition of it.

Such experiences finally took me to the study of what I consider Luther's greatest writing, *De Servo Arbitrio*, On the Bondage of the Will. This work really led me into the center of Biblical theology and taught me the correctness of the position of our Church in the well-known controversy on predestination and conversion. If anyone wishes



to become sure about one of the fundamental errors of modern theology, synergism, the co-operation of man in regeneration, he must read, and read again, this monumental work. Since Luther wrote it in Latin, and since all translations are somewhat unsatisfactory, I was glad, also

from a collector's standpoint, when I had a chance to pick up the first edition of *De Servo Arbitrio*, which I still treasure among the rare books of my library; and later on I also was able to get the first edition of Erasmus' book on *The Freedom of the Will*, which provoked Luther's reply.

During the eight years of my ministry at Frankenmuth I had to preach every Wednesday morning at eight o'clock, and it was but natural for a young and inexperienced minister that the sermons to be delivered in these services should be a continued exposition of a book of the Bible. First I selected Ephesians, having just come from the classroom where that master of exegesis, Dr. Stoeckhardt, had expounded this letter. Then I selected certain chapters of the Gospel of St. John, making good use of Luther's expositions and of the excellent "Bibelstunden," Bible hours, by the distinguished and pious theologian W. F. Besser, often going back to Luther. If I had remained longer in the active ministry, I am sure that I would have turned to some of the minor Prophets, like Joel, Jonah, Micah, in order to bring the Old Testament closer to my people, and Luther's excellent expositions would have been my helps.

MY EDITIONS OF LUTHER'S WORKS

But someone might ask me, What edition of Luther did you use? My father had the old Leipzig edition in large folio volumes, a good edition in itself, but very unwieldy, and while I started to read Luther in that edition, I very soon began to acquire the new St. Louis Edition, which was begun in my student days and of which a new volume appeared almost every year. Naturally, it became a habit with me to read Luther's German writings in German, and

Reading Luther. — A Noted Editor of Luther's Works

I have continued to do this to the present day, but I read translations of his Latin writings in English, also for the sake of making comparisons. A Lutheran theologian should, if at all possible, be able to read Luther in German; otherwise he will miss the flavor of his interesting and powerful style, which Professor M. Rade in one of the smaller editions of Luther's works calls "den Zauber der urspruenglich-deutschen Luthersprache," the magic of Luther's language.⁶ Translations are, as the philosopher Hegel said somewhere, a "nachgemachte Rose," an artificial rose. And even the best translations, sometimes also those of our own St. Louis Edition, contain peculiar errors. I was amused when I read that the Britannica, in an early edition, translated the title of Luther's writing "Wider die moerderischen und raeuberischen Rotten der Bauern" in this way: "Against the murderous and rebellious 'rats' of the peasants," not knowing or realizing that "Rotten" (hordes) and "Ratten" (rats) are very different German words. Even one of the foremost Luther scholars in our country translated Luther's "Nachtmahl" with "evening meal," not knowing that "Nachtmahl" in Luther's language means as much as "Abendmahl," or Lord's Supper. But since it is a fact that many are not able to read Luther without some difficulty in the original, I am very glad that aside from quite a number of good older translations published in England and Dr. J. N. Lenker's Minneapolis edition of Luther's works in thirteen volumes, now out of print, we have the fine six-volume edition of Luther's writings in the Holman, or Philadelphia, edition. If it only would comprise at least twelve or fifteen volumes! We certainly ought to have more of Luther in English. When I corresponded with

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Professor Charles M. Jacobs, the well-known church historian at the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary, about the Holman edition and expressed the wish that also some exegetical and dogmatical writings be included, he answered that the editors were not able to do this on account of the limitation of the edition, but stated that they would include Luther's powerful dogmatico-historical treatise "On the Councils and the Churches," and called it one of Luther's greatest writings. It belongs, indeed, as the introduction in the St. Louis Edition remarks, "to the most learned and most carefully elaborated works of Luther," and just now, while writing this chapter, I am reading it again and making notes. (I regard it as a blessing that in my old age I am still able to read Luther regularly and daily, and I recall what old Pastor George Link, the father of my friend and classmate George Link, Jr., and author of a book for family devotions taken from Luther's writings, once said to Dr. Stoeckhardt and myself when we visited him in his country charge at Red Bud, Illinois: "At last I am able to read Luther to my heart's desire.") I fully agree with Dr. Jacobs with regard to that particular work. He himself translated this treatise and wrote an appreciative introduction to it. Of course, if I want to make sure of a certain point, I consult the monumental scholars' edition of Luther's works, the Weimar Edition, in eighty volumes and not yet completed, offering every writing of Luther in the original German or Latin and in the original, now antiquated, spelling.

In this way I might continue speaking of my reading of Luther's writings, but space will not permit me. In the course of years I read about everything of Luther, some

writings two and three times, or at least consulted him by means of the large index in our St. Louis Edition or of concordances to Luther, of which larger and smaller editions have appeared in English as well as in German. In times like the present, when the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is again under discussion, everyone will experience what I have felt more than fifty years ago, that Luther's powerful writings in his controversy with Zwingli and other Reformed theologians bearing such significant titles as "That These Words, 'This Is My Body' Still Stand Firm," and "The Great Confession Concerning the Lord's Supper," present the matter in such a masterful way that no one with an open mind can gainsay them.

Summing up, I would say that Luther always emphasizes the chief points. He leads one into the center of the Bible, of Christian doctrine, and does that in new and always interesting variations. Luther is never "langweilig," tedious, even if he is sometimes somewhat verbose and repeats himself. Oftentimes he is, I might say, amusing and entertaining, and it has happened many a time that I had to smile and laugh outright when reading him. And he is always "zeitgemaess," what he says fits our present times and conditions. In these days when quite frequently the distinction between Church and State is set aside, when the proper treatment of the vanquished by the victors is so important, I again read his writings on "Secular Authority," "Against Insurrection and Rebellion," "Against the Peasants," his exposition of the one hundred and first Psalm and of the Prophet Habakkuk, and similar tracts, and am amazed how he lays down the Scriptural principles covering the conditions in his days and in our days. The 1850

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reprint of the little Commentary on Habakkuk which I used for convenience' sake bears the peculiar subtitle *Das Handbuch der Politik*, the handbook of politics. Even in traveling, the reading of Luther need not be interrupted. Of course, you cannot take a volume of the St. Louis Edition with you, but there are many smaller editions in handy volumes which will easily find a place in a traveling bag.

I also tried to impress upon my students that whenever they would have to prepare a conference essay or write an exegetical paper, they should, after reading carefully the text in the original, first of all find out whether Luther wrote something on the matter and study that. I remember well how in a faculty meeting Dr. Stoeckhardt, reporting on an article that had been sent in for publication in our theological monthly *Lehre und Wehre*, remarked indignantly that no one should write on a certain section — I think it was taken from the Sermon on the Mount — “ohne seine Nase in Luther gesteckt zu haben,” without having read what Luther had to say on the matter. And the term papers of my students often showed that they had followed my advice. I recall a somewhat amusing incident. I had assigned to the students in our Graduate School a paper on the Messianic promise in 2 Sam. 7:12-16 and warned them not to be led on a wrong path by some modern commentators. When I examined the papers, a gifted, but also quite independent and sometimes rather critically inclined member of the class had the following remark: “As I worked upon the text in the Hebrew and other languages, I felt as though I must absolutely adopt, from sincere conviction, the typical view of this passage that something, at least, must refer to Solomon. Every work which I consulted agreed

with me, and Stoeckhardt in his *Adventspredigten* seemed to evade the issue and refused to give me any enlightenment. But when I consulted Luther, I felt like a fool convinced of his folly, because in a few pithy sentences he shows the utter impossibility of such a view, and now my only wonder is that Hengstenberg, Koenig, etc., can still hold fast to the typical interpretation unless they never consulted Luther." More than once I have also noticed the great interest in Luther's writings shown by lay members of our Church. An old member of my congregation in Frankenmuth, Michigan, spoke admiringly in his Bavarian dialect of the "klane Lutherbuechli," the small Luther books, published by our Church many years ago, called *Luthers Volksbibliothek*, a Luther library for the people, in fifteen small volumes and regretted that not more were issued. And here in St. Louis I remember an elder of Holy Cross Church who had to pass my house when going to his place of business. He did not hurry, but quite often was somewhat late, knowing that his sons would take care of urgent matters in his office. When talking to him one day, I learned that he had the habit of reading Luther's exposition of Genesis every morning and found it so interesting and so "deep" — that was the word he used — that he could not get away.

THE CENTER OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY

And the center of Luther's theology and understanding of the Bible which I learned from him in my long life? Luther is quite often misunderstood and misused in this respect. I did not care so very much, as some do, to find statements of Luther in support of some pet ideas, but I was

bent upon learning Luther's innermost theology, his "Gesamtauffassung," his central conception, of Scripture. And this he himself mentions in an exposition of Ps. 6:11 in a terse Latin sentence: "*Crux Christi unica est eruditio verborum Dei, theologia sincerissima*," the Cross of Christ is the only instruction in God's words, the purest theology."⁷ This fact is very important for all Bible reading and study, as one of the younger Lutheran scholars observes, when he says: "The scope or aim of Scripture, the Cross of Christ, opens the understanding for the interpretation of individual passages" ("*Verstaendnis fuer Einzelexegese*").⁸ Therefore Georg Helbig gave one of those fine smaller editions of Luther's writings the title *Theologie des Kreuzes*,⁹ The Theology of the Cross, quoting and elaborating the word of Luther just mentioned; and that younger Luther scholar, whom I have just quoted, remarks: "The contents of Scripture, its true and real scope, concentrates itself on the crucified God, that God who bringeth low when He lifteth up and killeth when He maketh alive," 2 Sam. 1:6, 7.¹⁰ This center and summary of his theology and faith Luther himself expressed in the most wonderful way in his Small Catechism when explaining the Second Article of the Apostolic Creed, a sentence which one of the Grimm brothers, the famous philologist and archaeologist Jacob Grimm, called the greatest sentence in German literature: "I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true Man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and won me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver,

but with His holy, precious blood and with His innocent suffering and death, that I may be His own, and live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness, even as He is risen from the dead, lives and reigns to all eternity." Wilhelm Walther, the excellent Luther scholar, records in his reminiscences an incident which came to my mind when I penned these lines. He attended the lectures of the well-known Marburg Professor A. F. C. Vilmar, an independent thinker and prominent defender of the Biblical truth in the nineteenth century, and heard how Vilmar quoted the seventh stanza of Luther's great Reformation hymn "Nun freut euch, liebe Christen g'mein," Dear Christians, One and All Rejoice. And reciting the words of Christ "For I am with thee, I am thine, And evermore thou shalt be Mine," Vilmar declared this to be the heart of Luther's theology, and tears streamed down the cheeks of that tall, strong, "iron" man.¹¹⁾ Some of my readers will at once recall how beautifully Paul Gerhardt expresses the same thought in the two closing stanzas of his well-known hymn "Warum sollt' ich mich denn graemen?" "Why Should Cross and Trial Grieve Me?" which in the inimitable original have often been part of my prayer during sleepless nights, and were excellently translated by John Kelly:

Lord, my Shepherd, take me to Thee.
Thou art mine; I was Thine,
Even ere I knew Thee.
I am Thine, for Thou hast bought me;
Lost I stood, But Thy blood
Free salvation brought me.

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Thou art mine; I love and own Thee.
Light of Joy, Ne'er shall I
From my heart dethrone Thee.
Savior, let me soon behold Thee
Face to face, — May Thy grace
Evermore enfold me!

Quite often Luther and his friend and co-worker Melancthon are mentioned together, but the great contrast between the two must never be overlooked. One of my favorite modern Christian poets, Philip Spitta, expresses this contrast in these words: "He [Luther] is a true leader in Christendom; he is the most inspirational incentive for its preaching; he has traveled the most marvelous pathways of the human heart and he *experienced* more than Melancthon *knew*. The latter you can study, but the former you must live with to understand." ¹²⁾

In this connection I must also say that I read much *on* Luther, especially works that have appeared within the last fifty or sixty years, those excellent biographies of the great Reformer by Koestlin, Kolde, and Buchwald, to mention just a few, the studies and publications of Theodosius Harnack, Wilhelm Walther, Carl Holl, Carl Stange, Hans Preuss, Heinrich Boehmer, Johannes Ficker, Eduard Ellwein, and others, not overlooking the work of American scholars, the fine edition of *Luther's Correspondence* by Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs, and the researches and writings of W. H. T. Dau, M. Reu, and W. Dallmann. How I envied Preuss when I read that for his three studies of Luther he had turned every page in the large Weimar Edition! And I must also mention that my friend and colleague Dr. Dau, in the fourteen years after his retirement, spent so much time on Luther that he made notes on and

excerpted every volume of the Weimar Edition except one. What he accomplished in that respect I do not know as yet, but I have taken pains to emphasize that these studies should not be overlooked, but made available in some way.

Thus I could easily continue *ad infinitum*, because I fully agree with what my unforgettable colleague Dr. F. Bente once said in a review: "I have to confess that the grateful joy over our Luther will never end with me." I should like to close this chapter with a few words about the man who edited our own edition of Luther's Works, because but little is known of him.

ALBERT FREDERICK HOPPE, THE EDITOR OF THE
ST. LOUIS EDITION OF LUTHER'S WORKS

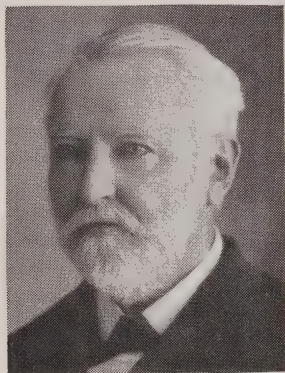
Even before I came to St. Louis as instructor, I had some correspondence with Professor Hoppe, and after that I visited him quite often during almost twenty years. He was an interesting character, even though he had some peculiarities.

After finishing his work on Luther, he wrote for his daughter a short sketch of his life, which I printed in the *Lutheraner* and which will be of interest to those who would like to know more of him.¹³⁾

Hoppe was born July 24, 1828, in Rostock, Mecklenburg, the son of a distinguished family. His father was a surgeon, and his mother was the daughter of the professor of the English language at the university. Most of his teachers, also his teachers in religion, were rationalists, but in his last year in school he had a truly Christian teacher, pastor of a Rostock church, who also confirmed him and advised him when he entered the university to become well ac-

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quainted with his textbook, the Bible, in the original languages. One of his teachers at the university was Professor Franz Delitzsch, who was so well acquainted with some of our Saxon fathers in their student days and who was very friendly to him and invited him almost daily for a walk. When Delitzsch was called to Erlangen, Hoppe enrolled at that university for a year. After his return to Rostock, the



A. F. Hoppe

well-known conservative Professor F. A. Philippi, who had been called to the university, not only took a personal interest in him, but also led exegetical discussions for a group of students in his home and went to Communion with them just as Delitzsch had done. After his graduation, Hoppe took a position as private tutor and in 1855 married the young widow of Councilor ("Hof-rat") Crull, a distinguished

lawyer, and emigrated with her and two children, one of them being our unforgettable Professor August Crull in Fort Wayne, to America. Recommended to Professor Walter by another well-known theologian and high official of the Mecklenburg State Church, Dr. Theodore Kliefoth, he came to St. Louis in the same year and for a short time taught in the college, which at that time was combined with our Seminary, but in 1856 accepted a call to Zion Church in New Orleans. There he encountered quite a number of

difficulties and adversities, had yellow fever twice, in 1867 and in 1878, and spent the years of the Civil War with its troubles in that city. Later, at the request of his congregation, he founded an academy, also gave private instruction in prominent families in Latin, English, French, and German, and, encouraged by the pastoral conference of the city, finally opened a *Progymnasium*, or preparatory high school, for our college, but was soon called to take over the editorship of the new edition of Luther's works, because after several volumes had been printed (1, 2, 10, 11, 12, 13), it became clear that the preparation of the other volumes required a full-time editor. And so Hoppe came to St. Louis in 1886 and continued this work until his death, May 31, 1911, editing seventeen large quarto volumes of this edition, as far as I know the largest work in the German language printed in the United States, a monumental work, even if I must say that I would have preferred a different arrangement of Luther's writings, a different format of the volumes, and the omission of some historical documents. But the plan of following the quarto Walch edition of Luther's works had been accepted earlier. Hoppe was very happy that he was able to complete the task, the twenty-third and final volume containing the exhaustive index having appeared in 1910. During those twenty-five years he was so wrapped up in Luther that he spent every minute, I might almost say, in his work, and one could not readily engage him or converse with him on other matters. Whenever I called on him, Luther was the one and only topic. As far as I know, he did not read a daily paper, at least not regularly and thoroughly, but obtained the information of what happened in the world in a unique way. After

supper he relaxed for an hour, went downtown, standing on the rear platform of the streetcar, smoking his daily cigar; then, taking a walk in the heart of the city, he read the bulletins which the daily papers had posted.

The exhaustive and valuable introductions which he wrote for sixteen volumes, sometimes covering more than sixty pages, and also the introductions to the individual writings of Luther, bear testimony to his labors and learning. Also the valuable tables of contents and various indexes must be mentioned. And he also had some enjoyment, as Dr. Stoeckhardt, the supervisor of the work, once remarked to me humorously, whenever he found some wrong translation or statement in modern editions of Luther's works, and he was able to record a number of them in the prefaces to the individual volumes. Usually he dated the prefaces on Reformation Day, in remembrance of Luther's heroic act, but the preface to the index volume was written in Easter week, 1910. Everyone will concede that a complete index is absolutely necessary for such a large and comprehensive edition, and Hoppe stated in this preface how the work of compiling the index had been of great spiritual blessing for him. He closes with the following sentence: "Now only one thing remains, that we do not forget Almighty God, but give Him praise and honor for His great and manifold mercy which He has shown us in this difficult work of editing Luther's complete works in the German language; and at the same time we ask our dear Lord to give His blessing to the course ('Lauf') of this work, that it may not only be bought, but also used diligently, so that the pure Lutheran doctrine may be retained and strengthened and widely spread, in order to

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attain for many eternal salvation for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Savior. Amen."

Hoppe's work was highly regarded by American and European scholars. Dr. Philip Schaff, the Reformed theologian and church historian of Union Seminary in New York, wrote him courteous letters and presented him with his *History of the Reformation Period*, and I have a number of reviews of notable European Luther scholars acknowledging Hoppe's abilities and attainments. For that reason it was a well-deserved honor that the Doctor of Theology title was conferred upon him by the faculty of Concordia Seminary. When I conveyed the information to him and brought him his diploma, he was very happy that we made no affair of it. He was little known, but we should never forget what he did in making Luther's works available. And the story how he became such an ardent student of Luther may be an incentive to others.

In a festival oration delivered at the anniversary of Luther's birthday in our Seminary, followed by an exquisite Latin oration of Professor Francis Pieper and mimeographed by the students, Hoppe records this interesting story. When Wyneken, the general President of our Church, visited Hoppe's congregation in New Orleans, he also looked at Hoppe's library, which was not too large, and then asked in a rather severe tone: "Have you no sermon books?" Hoppe answered rather demurely and dejectedly: "I have no other sermons than those contained in Luther's works." And then Wyneken became very friendly and said: "Dear Hoppe, I am very glad to hear that. Just study Luther's sermons; that is the best thing you can do for yourself and for your Church." And this became, so to speak, the start-

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ing point for Hoppe's interest in Luther's works. Among his contributions to our periodicals is an interesting article on Luther's principles of Scripture interpretation; and after he had finished his life's work, he began to write a biography of Luther, using only sayings of Luther himself and statements of his contemporaries, but unfortunately it was not completed because death overtook him.¹⁴⁾

I may also add that for a number of years he was cor-



The House of Dr. A. F. Hoppe

Where the greater part of the St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works
was prepared

responding secretary of the New Orleans Academy of Science, and the fact that he had a command of the German, English, French, and the classical languages stood him in good stead. His talented wife was in her younger days an excellent singer and musician, but passed away before him. He and she and their daughter, all very retired, made up a little "trio" in their home. The mother composed the text for songs in German, the father translated the words into English, and the daughter set the music to them

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and published them. My family kept up our friendship with his daughter, Anna, also an interesting, well-educated woman, who then lived alone in their modest home across from the Lutheran Hospital. From her we heard many interesting things of bygone days, and she bequeathed to me some of her father's books.

CHAPTER XIV. — St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

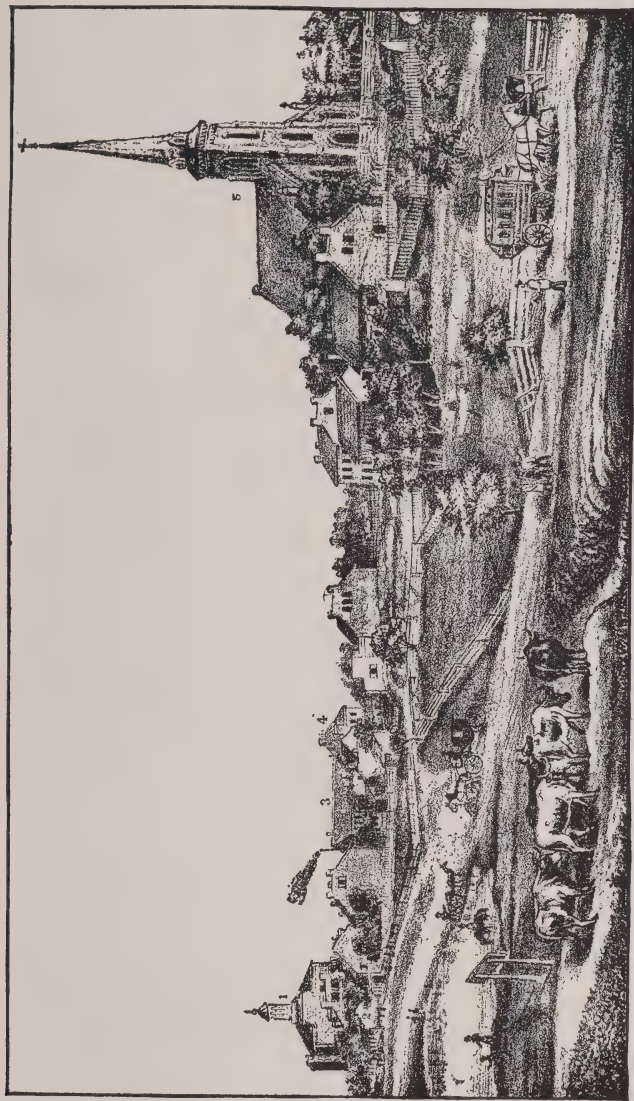
Part I



SOME OF MY PRESENT READERS may have read the first volume of reminiscences which appeared several years ago under the title *Eighty Eventful Years*. They may remember that I first came to St. Louis as a student in 1882 and remained there until my graduation from Concordia Theological Seminary in 1885. Then I came again to St. Louis as instructor in Concordia Theological Seminary in 1893 and have been a citizen of St. Louis uninterruptedly since that time. If I recall those early days fifty and sixty years ago, I cannot fail to note the vast changes that have taken place, and it might be of interest to recount some of those changes.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE OLD SEMINARY

As is well known, the Seminary at that time was located in South St. Louis on Jefferson Avenue, at the corner of Winnebago Street, one block north of Chippewa Street and three blocks south of Cherokee Street. In those days parts of our neighborhood were rather sparsely settled. Holy Cross Church had indeed been built, and its Christian day school was located a few blocks away, the immediate surroundings of the church being the remnants of an old cemetery,



Drawing of the Old Concordia Seminary and Surroundings (1871)

1. Concordia Seminary

2. Holy Cross School

3. Concordia Publishing House (First Building)

4. Dr. Walther's Residence

5. Holy Cross Church

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where, among others, Professor Adolf Biewend and Mrs. Christiane Buenger, the mother of the four well-known Buenger brothers, of Mrs. C. F. W. Walther, and of my own mother, lie buried.¹⁾ Members of Holy Cross Church lived in the neighborhood, and Concordia Publishing House,



Grave of Prof. A. F. T. Biewend (1816—1858)
At the left, that of Prof. J. J. Goenner (1807—1864)

founded in 1869 and at first located on the Seminary grounds, had put up quite a large building on a site one block north and one east from the Seminary. Texas, or Clara, Avenue, one block west of Jefferson Avenue, had been opened not many years before and was called by some, somewhat disrespectfully, “die heilige Gasse,” the

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

“holy street,” because the Seminary was located on one side. Professors Guenther and Schaller and Dr. Walther lived on that street, and next to Dr. Walther lived Louis Lange, the publisher of the *Abendschule*; on the other side of the street Professor Pieper had his residence, and next to him the old Holy Cross parsonage was located, where



The Four Buenger Brothers

From left to right: Johann Friedrich (pastor), Theodor Ernst (teacher), Ernst Eduard (physician), Hermann Wilhelm (druggist)

Pastor Stoeckhardt lived in my student days. At the end of the block stood a large house where Teacher Erck of Holy Cross School resided and where the students from the Norwegian Synod who studied at the Seminary had their quarters. But farther west a large tract of land had only a few houses, and even on Jefferson Avenue the block from Winnebago to Chippewa Street contained only one house

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at the end of the square, so that the students were able to play ball on that vacant ground. Towards the south, on the other side of Chippewa Street, was a tavern occupied by a man named Steinmeyer, not a church member, therefore called by some wags among the students "Stony Impius" in contradistinction to a businessman and faithful church member living towards the north bearing the same



Concordia Publishing House on Indiana Avenue

name Steinmeyer, the "Stony Pius," father-in-law of Pastors Eisenbeiss in Iowa and Schroeder in Kankakee, Illinois.

In those days the birthdays of the professors at the Seminary were observed in a rather unusual way. The instructor did not meet his classes on that day, but in the early morning the student body assembled before his house and sang a chorale, to which also the passers-by on the street and the children of the neighborhood listened, and representatives of the three classes brought the greetings and good wishes of the students to their teacher. Sometimes that committee was selected from a peculiar viewpoint. To

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Dr. Stoeckhardt they sent students who were hardly able to speak German; to Professor Bente, who was of small stature, they sent the tallest students available; and to me, being almost six feet in height, they sent the smallest students. No lectures were given in the afternoon, the whole student body, rather small in those early years, had a holiday, and in the evening the members of the faculty and the students usually joined in a social affair in the large basement room of the Seminary building. I am just mentioning this to indicate the simple life of those days.

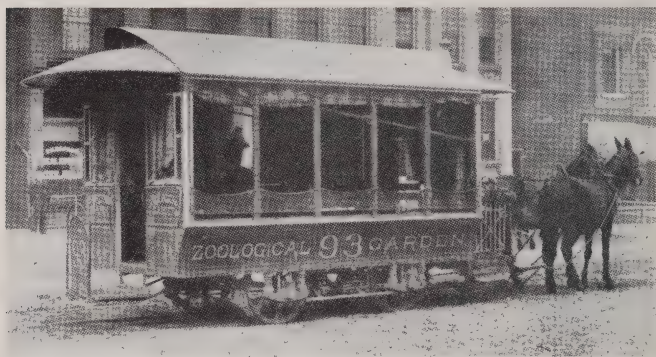
Our fathers in St. Louis did not have quite the foresight which Pastor Wilhelm Loehe had when the college property in Fort Wayne was acquired. He bought a large tract of land, and this has been of great benefit to the development of the institution. Even the present cemetery of the Lutheran churches in Fort Wayne was part of that tract, and, besides, not very far from the college, a farm was bought, which was rented out in my student days and sold later in order to put up a building on the campus. If the institution had kept it longer, they might have sold it at a very substantial profit when the city of Fort Wayne expanded in that direction. And so, if our fathers in St. Louis had bought a larger tract of land when acquiring the ground for the Seminary or had done so in later years, it would have been a considerable asset to the institution.

CONDITIONS IN THE CITY

But to return to conditions in St. Louis in my student days. The conveniences were rather poor. The streetcars were drawn by the "famous" Missouri mules; sometimes, when the load was heavy or the way led up a hill, as on

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Arsenal Street, when returning from the city, a third mule, that was waiting patiently near the Anheuser-Busch brewery, was added. The track was built in a rather unsatisfactory way, so that the cars, especially in wet weather, quite often left the rails. Then all the passengers had to step out, and the men riding in the car were asked by the driver and conductor to assist in putting it back on the



Mule-Drawn Streetcar

track. Sometimes they did; sometimes they did not; and I remember that when we students had to go to town or to another church, we had to step into that peculiar mud which covered the streets and help the car along, so that we were able to get to our destination on time. Most of the streets in those days were not paved or hard-surfaced, but were covered with crushed stone, which after some time developed into a very disagreeable dust or a grayish mud. The students could never fully understand why the

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

government of the city was so shortsighted in that respect. But that stone was cheap. It was found right in St. Louis on the banks of the Mississippi River and elsewhere, and it was quarried and crushed by men who had committed a minor offense and were prisoners in the workhouse. "Steine klopfen," crushing stone, was a familiar phrase in those days. But these conditions were changed about forty years ago, when the great World's Fair of 1904 was planned.



St. Louis Levee

Just as I was writing this chapter, in December, 1944, the World's Fair mayor, Rolla Wells, an excellent official, who had also other important improvements to his credit, was carried to his last resting place at the ripe age of 88 years. He has described these changes and achievements in a large volume, printed privately, a copy of which his family presented to our Seminary library.²⁾

The drinking water was taken from the Mississippi, and the river at that time, as at present, was a yellow-colored

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murky stream, caused chiefly by the fact that the Missouri River empties its muddy water into the Mississippi only about twenty miles north of the city. This was particularly repulsive to visitors, and beer, manufactured in St. Louis in great quantities, often took the place of drinking water. A little niece of mine, crossing the river on the Eads Bridge and seeing the yellow water, vowed she would not drink of it and kept her promise as long as she stayed in the city. The water, of course, left a sediment, and one of my friends, the well-known teacher and writer Herman Zagel, at one time kept this sediment and added to it day by day, intending to manufacture a pipe from it, a regular "Missouri meerschaum"; how far he succeeded, I do not remember. But one morning, in the days of preparation for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louisans awoke and had clear and excellent drinking water. The experiments and researches of the chemists and experts, among them Edward E. Wall, for 53 years in the service of the city, to give us such water without any aftertaste had finally been successful. And I need not dwell upon the improvements made in street paving and in providing at first cable and then electric streetcars and nowadays busses.

In those days, just as at the present time, the students liked to visit other Lutheran churches in the city, especially when some festival was observed. Speaking in a general way, I also think that the members of our congregations visited their sister congregations on such occasions more than they do nowadays. The bond of fellowship was very noticeable at jubilees, mission festivals, dedications, and the like. A number of students also had their Sunday homes in congregations other than Holy Cross and visited with their

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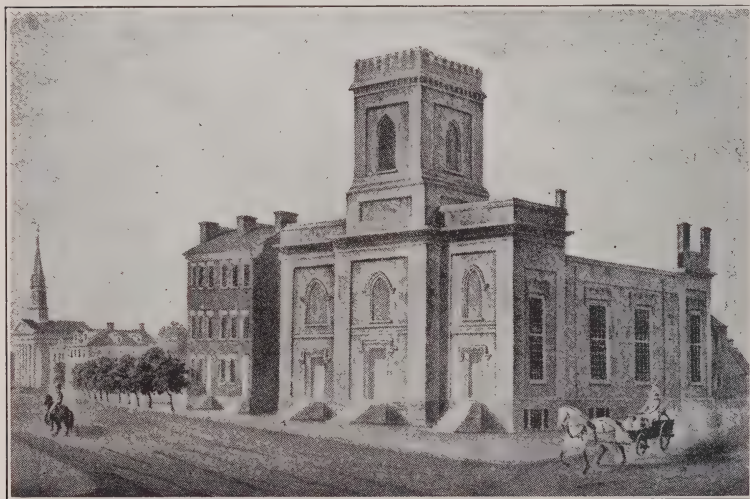
benefactors. But, of course, there never was any rapid transit. It took three quarters of an hour to get to the business section of the city and almost two hours to get to the churches on the north side, and in winter such trips were not very pleasant. No streetcar was heated. The only accommodation was straw strewn upon the floor of the cars in order to keep the feet a little warm. But the students were used to simple life at home and in St. Louis and did not mind.

CHURCHES IN ST. LOUIS

Other churches than Lutheran we did not visit except on special occasions. The most conservative preacher in other denominations, in fact, an outstanding man who always had the courage of his conviction, was the Presbyterian James H. Brookes, minister of the Washington and Compton Presbyterian Church, now called Memorial Presbyterian Church and located in the neighborhood of our present Seminary buildings. I have told in my earlier volume how he came to be a preacher of the cardinal doctrines of the Bible, particularly of redemption through the blood of Jesus Christ and of justification by faith.³⁾ Also well known was the other Presbyterian, Samuel J. Niccols, who had charge of the large and wealthy Second Church for many years, held the office of Moderator of his church body, and also maintained a conservative position. I met him repeatedly in later years, and he told me that he was a close friend of William Henry Green, the conservative Old Testament scholar of Princeton Theological Seminary, called the "Hengstenberg of North America," and one of the noted teachers of that school, which for many years had

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such a great influence upon the Presbyterian Church of our country. There was only one Lutheran minister in the city outside the pastors of our own church body, Dr. Mosheim Rhodes, a member and sometime president of the Lutheran General Synod, one of the three church bodies which united



Old Christ Church (Episcopal)
Fifth and Chestnut Streets

in 1918 and formed the present United Lutheran Church of America. I also met him on one or two occasions and found that he took the standpoint of his church body in those days.

But already in my student days two churches and church buildings interested me very much on account of the history connected with them, and I have maintained that interest up to the present time. One is the Episcopalian Christ

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

Church Cathedral and the other one is the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the old one as well as the new one. Christ Church very graciously offered the use of their building to the Saxon immigrants when they arrived in St. Louis in February, 1839, and had no place where they could conduct their services. According to one report a committee of that church even met them on the levee and made this offer to them, and what was later called Trinity Lutheran Congregation worshiped there until it was able to build and dedicate its own church in the late fall of 1842. This incident is so interesting that I desire to give an exact account of it, quoting from a comprehensive history of St. Louis. The author, Walter B. Stevens, writes: "A city of refuge for all creeds of religion as well as for all shades of political opinion, St. Louis became early in its evolution the typical American community. Here men worshiped according to the dictates of their conscience. One Sunday morning in March of 1839 good Bishop Kemper read in Christ Church, then on Fifth and Chestnut Streets, this notice: 'A body of Lutherans, having been persecuted by the Saxon government because they believed it their duty to adhere to the doctrines inculcated by their great leader and contained in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, have arrived here with the intention of settling in this or one of the neighboring states, and having been deprived of the privilege of public worship for three months, they have earnestly and most respectfully requested the use of our church that they may again unite in all of the ordinances of our holy religion. I have, therefore, with the entire approbation of the vestry, granted the use of our church for this day from 2 P. M. until sunset to a denomination whose

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early members were highly esteemed by the English reformers, and with whom our glorious martyrs Cranmer, Ridley and others had much early intercourse.’” Stevens continues: “That act of church hospitality was fraught with great consequences, material as well as spiritual, to St.



Christ Church Cathedral (Episcopal)
Thirteenth and Locust Streets

BY COURTESY OF CHRIST CHURCH

Louis. It added to St. Louis one of the most desirable elements of population. It made this city not only nationally but internationally the capital of a powerful religious organization. A college, a seminary, a publishing house, and a hospital were established.”⁴⁾

As stated above, Christ Church at that time was located

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

on Broadway and Chestnut Streets. The building had been finished in 1839, a short time before the Saxon emigrants arrived in St. Louis. Later, in 1859, the congregation laid the foundation of what is now the cathedral on Thirteenth and Locust Streets, where it still worships. The church is built in English Gothic style, and its exterior shows its age; it is weather-beaten; but not many years ago the tower was added, and it is one of the noteworthy church buildings in our city. Something remarkable and unique is the reredos, made in England, showing the Prophets and Apostles in very fine sculpture. At the time when this reredos was placed in the church, the well-known churchman Daniel S. Tuttle, the "great Missionary Bishop of the West," for fifty-six years a bishop and for a number of years the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in our country, was in charge of the diocese. The sculptor had also made a bust of him. But Bishop Tuttle insisted that his bust could not be placed in the altar, at least not as long as he was living. The people might keep it in the basement of the church. But, no, the parishioners did not consent. Their beloved bishop in the basement? And they finally compromised and placed the bust in the farthest corner of the reredos, where only those could see it who knew about it and went into the chancel.

The other church building in St. Louis which impressed me in my student days on account of its history is the old Roman Catholic Cathedral on Walnut Street, quite close to the river. It bears the name of the French King Louis IX, the saint after whom also the city is named. It is a part of old St. Louis, and one will at once realize this if he bears in mind that the old cathedral parish was established in

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THE OLD CATHEDRAL, ST. LOUIS, MO.



1770, six years after Laclede had founded the settlement of St. Louis in 1764. This old church, erected on the site where the first mass in St. Louis was celebrated, in 1764, is still in use and remains as a solitary monument in a part of the city which has now been completely wrecked and will

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

in the course of time be part of a special development. It was built in 1833—1834 as the first cathedral church west of the Mississippi, under Bishop J. Rosati, whose name is still remembered in the history of St. Louis as the first Catholic bishop. But the outstanding prelate was Rosati's successor, Peter Richard Kenrick, after whom the local Kenrick Seminary for the education of Catholic priests was named and who was appointed archbishop in 1847 and held that office in my student days, when I saw and heard him several times. Kenrick, who died at the age of 90 years in March, 1896, was a very energetic man, strong in organization and management, very successful in raising funds, a gifted speaker. On a certain occasion he also had the courage of his conviction. He was one of the prelates who strongly opposed at the Vatican Council in 1870 the decree of the Pope's infallibility in matters of doctrine when speaking *ex cathedra*, in his office. I remember that Dr. Walther called his oration "eine fulminante Rede," a thundering, threatening oration. Kenrick sided with other high-standing prelates and Catholic scholars like Strossmayer, Hefele, Doellinger, and Friedrich, but did not see the matter to its end. He voted *non placet*, that is to say, he was opposed to it at the "private sitting," but did not attend the session at which the dogma was formulated; and after the decree had been adopted, he gave up his opposition, submitted publicly to the voice of the majority as the authority of the Church. He brought, as the Italian phrase has it, *sacrificio del intelletto*, the sacrifice of the intellect, and, according to the other Catholic phrase, he *laudabiliter se subiecit*, laudably subjected himself, while other opponents like Doellinger and Friedrich left the Catholic Church or were

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excommunicated and founded a separate organization called the Old Catholic Church. When he returned from the Vatican Council and was accorded a public reception, he declared in answering a question addressed to him: "I submit completely and without any reservation to this declaration [that the Pope is infallible]. There can be no doubt about the character of this declaration, because it was promulgated by the Council and was accepted by the majority even of those who were in the minority when the vote was taken. In submitting in this way I say to the Church in the words of Peter and Paul: 'To whom, O Holy Mother, shall we go except to Thee? Thou hast words of eternal life, and we have believed and perceived that Thou art the chief pillar and ground of the truth.'"⁵⁾

The most remarkable church edifice in St. Louis is the new Catholic cathedral located in the heart of the city on Lindell Boulevard. The architectural style is Byzantine; it contains interesting mosaics and a rather peculiar altar, costing alone the price of many a stately church and given by a wealthy Catholic family. The cornerstone was laid, as I remember very well, in 1908, the edifice was blessed and opened in 1914 and ceremoniously dedicated in 1926. The building was planned and finished under the supervision of the energetic and aggressive Archbishop John J. Glennon, who in the more than forty years of his office intended to make St. Louis the "Rome of the West." At this writing he was over 80 years old and celebrated in 1944 the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination to the priesthood. In 1946 he was created a cardinal of the Church and traveled to Rome in wintertime, but died in Ireland, the country of his birth, on the return trip in March.

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

When I first came to St. Louis, the city could not boast any remarkable church buildings except the two mentioned. Also the Lutheran churches, while some of them were constructed in churchly style and well executed, like Old Trinity Church, were not exceptional. But since that time



St. Louis Cathedral

BY COURTESY OF THE ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL

a number of edifices have been built which may well be studied in order to note the different styles in architecture. Perhaps the most notable church corner is on Kingshighway and Washington Avenue. There we find the Second Baptist Church, having, according to Italian examples, a separate tower, or campanile, and a loggia between the church proper and the other church buildings, used for Sunday

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school and other purposes. Across the street we first note the Jewish Temple Israel with Corinthian columns, then St. John's Methodist Church, built in Romanesque style, but constructed in a rather odd way. Then follows the Tuscan Temple of the Freemasons, with Doric columns, and finally the Christian Science building in Renaissance style. I often say to myself that these different styles also resemble to some extent the faith of the bodies worshiping in them. And therefore I am always advocating for Lutheran churches, structures in true ecclesiastical style, either Romanesque or Gothic, with permissible modern variations, not necessarily large and costly buildings. The architectural style of modern European churches and American churches, quite often to be seen in different cities, does not appeal to me, neither the tendency to build according to Episcopalian and Roman Catholic models, especially in the interior.

CHAPTER XV. — St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

Part II



IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER I have recorded some reminiscences of Old St. Louis, its conditions many years ago, its churches and church buildings. I would, however, also like to say something about the cultural life in the city, as far as it became known to me in my student days and in the early years of my instructorship. St. Louis in those days was considered the Athens of the West. But again I must say that these reminiscences do not present in any way a complete picture. I can speak only of what I observed and in what I was engaged to some extent.

THE MUSICAL LIFE

Being always interested in music, I attended choral and symphony concerts quite frequently. But the musical life in St. Louis fifty and sixty years ago was not what it is today. The city had a symphony orchestra, organized, I think, in 1879, of which Joseph Otten was the conductor, and also oratorios were sung from time to time, and other concerts were given, either in the auditorium on the top floor of the old Mercantile Library Building, or in a theater, or sometimes even in a place not at all suited for musical productions. I remember having heard *The Messiah* sung

in the trading hall of the Chamber of Commerce. But we students, who had had but little opportunity to hear good music, were very glad that such concerts and oratorios were given. Then there was an organization called, I think, the St. Louis Orchestra, under the direction of Louis Mayer, who also played the cello in a quartet consisting of Theodore Spiering, Anton, the father of the later cellist P. G. Anton, and another musician, whose name I do not recall. Since Spiering was my violin teacher, I occasionally met these musicians. Spiering, of course, I knew best, and he was not only a fine musician, but also a perfect gentleman. He had married into the Bernays family and was the father of Theodore Bernays Spiering, who became a well-known musician in our country and abroad, but died at a rather early age. He was, as I heard later on, a good friend of the Finnish composer Jan Sibelius. The Bernays family was quite prominent in those days, and Mrs. Spiering was kind enough to invite me occasionally to musical soirees in her home. The noted surgeon Dr. Augustus Charles Bernays, who had studied in Germany and was acquainted with my cousin Professor Max Fuerbringer of the University of Heidelberg and later was connected with our Lutheran Hospital, was Mrs. Spiering's cousin; and his sister, Thekla Bernays, an intellectual woman, even ventured into theological matters. At one time, as I remember, she read a paper on St. Paul and on his Letter to the Romans before the Ethical Society. When I came to St. Louis as instructor, this Ethical Society was under the leadership of Walter L. Sheldon, a very gifted man, who sometimes called on me to discuss Biblical matters and to consult some modern German books in my library. But the whole ethical move-

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

ment has always been and still is an ultraliberal movement. As Sheldon once told me, he and his members were not interested whether there is a God or not, whether there is another life after death or not; they were simply concerned with this life. He tried to raise the status of the workingmen to a higher social level, without, however, having much success. He brought interesting speakers to St. Louis, among them Felix Adler of New York, the founder of the Ethical Movement, and Nathaniel Schmidt, the eminent Semitic scholar of Cornell University, who addressed his society on ethical and other topics. The latter took a certain interest in our Seminary, although he was an outspoken higher critic in Biblical matters.

Among famous singers and musicians of bygone days I heard Adelina Patti and Christine Nilsson, the pianist Ignace Paderewski, the organist Alexander Guilman. After the Old Exposition Hall had been built, Patrick Gilmore and his famous concert band were regular visitors in St. Louis, played during the days of the annual exposition, and became very great favorites with the St. Louisans. Gilmore did not favor orchestral music, which he considered a foreign importation, while band music was, in his opinion, typically American. He died, if I remember correctly, while visiting St. Louis. This musical life was also felt quite strongly in the Lutheran churches. In those days it was the custom of our St. Louis Lutherans to give elaborate concerts, especially when church conventions were held in our city, and Louis Mayer and Theodore Spiering were among the members of the orchestra. I remember particularly the convention of 1884 and the concert in the Mercantile Library Hall. A composition by a Lutheran

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composer, H. von Ette in Boston, written for Luther's birthday and the Reformation anniversary and dedicated to our Church, was played, a Mass by Farmer was sung, and our Pastor A. G. Doehler, a gifted musician, played a violin solo. On another occasion the beautiful cantata of Neukomm, with a new text by Professor Gottlieb Schaller, "Weisst du, wo mein Zion lieget?" was sung under the direc-



Exposition Building, Containing Music Hall

tion of the principal and organist of Holy Cross Lutheran School, Henry F. Hoelter, and a number of years later a Lutheran mass chorus sang Felix Mendelssohn's oratorio *St. Paul*, led by the talented musician Dr. E. Seuel, sometime instructor at the Walther College and for many years the manager of Concordia Publishing House, the largest producer of religious books and periodicals in our country.

Since those days, however, the musical life in St. Louis

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

has made great progress. The present Symphony Society is one of the leading organizations in our country. It attained this place since I came to St. Louis in 1893 through the endeavors of the conductors whose names will always be remembered: Alfred Ernst, Max Zach, Rudolf Ganz, and, at the present time, Vladimir Golschmann. Ernst was, as far as I know, the first one to produce one of the great works of Johann Sebastian Bach, the *Christmas Oratorio*. And now we have a regular Bach Society, sponsored by the Lutherans of our city and arranging an annual Bach Festival, when under the direction of William B. Heyne the immortal works of the greatest Lutheran musician and one of the world's greatest composers, the *Passion According to St. Matthew*, the *Mass in B Minor*, and other works, are offered. Our own Edward Rechlin, probably the foremost interpreter of Bach's organ music in our country, is almost a regular visitor in St. Louis. It is also a fact which should not be overlooked that our local Christian day schools and our congregational choirs, including the Seminary Students' Chorus and the A Cappella Chorus, feature and foster our Lutheran heritage in music more than ever before.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

When I first came to St. Louis as a student and later as instructor at the Seminary, Washington University did not occupy such a prominent place as it does today. It had been founded as a non-denominational college in the fifties and was housed for many years in rather inadequate buildings in the heart of the city. It paid special attention to the technological branches, engineering and the like, was strong in mathematics, physics, and chemistry, Henry S. Pritchett,

the well-known administrator of the Carnegie Foundation, being at one time a member of the faculty; but it was rather small and not at all exceptional in the Liberal Arts department. In 1901, when Frederick William Shipley joined its faculty as instructor in Latin, it had only 92 students in its College of Liberal Arts. During the past decades, however, it has expanded in a remarkable way, has also attained a prominent position in liberal arts and particularly in its medical school, which at present is considered one of the foremost in the country. The chancellor in those earlier days was Winfield Scott Chaplin, and although an able man and administrator, he did not lay claim to achievement in things which were outside his particular field. I remember a humorous remark of his when in the days of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904 a notable Congress of Arts and Sciences was held and he was appointed chairman for one of the sectional meetings. The speaker was the distinguished art critic and art historian from Munich, Richard Muther. A friend of my college and Seminary days, Paul Ewh, who had studied art under Muther, but later entered an entirely different career, gave me a letter of introduction to him when I went abroad in 1895, and I was naturally glad to greet him again in St. Louis. But Chancellor Chaplin, when introducing Dr. Muther, stated that he could not account for his being appointed chairman of the meeting, because, he said: "I don't know any more about art than the policeman on the street." I smiled, but Muther was somewhat shocked. Since Chaplin's days the chancellorship has always been held by distinguished men: David F. Houston, later Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of the Treasury; Fred-

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

erick A. Hall, a Greek scholar; Herbert H. Hadley, a prominent attorney and sometime Governor of Missouri; and George Reeves Throop, again a Greek scholar. Just as I am writing this chapter, Arthur H. Compton, the distinguished physicist and world-renowned researcher in the atomic field, has accepted the chancellorship and became the ninth chancellor of the institution.

The World's Fair proved to be a great aid in the development of St. Louis, particularly also in the cultural line. Washington University had erected stately and beautiful buildings in the western section of the city; in fact, just outside the city, in a suburb. These buildings were used during the World's Fair for administrative purposes and then occupied by the university. Other stately buildings have been added from time to time, among them a fine chapel, erected, as an inscription on stone states: "To the glory of the Triune God and in memory of B. B. Graham." It contains a large and beautiful art window, one of the finest, I think, which I have seen anywhere in our country. Our beautiful Seminary buildings are located just half a mile south of Washington University. The relations between Washington University and Concordia Seminary have been quite cordial during the past decades, and a number of our students have taken undergraduate and graduate courses at Washington. St. Louis University, a Jesuit institution, was founded much earlier, in 1818, when St. Louis had a population of but 3,000 people. It is the oldest university west of the Mississippi River, and also occupies a high position in the educational field, but I am not well acquainted with it.

FINE ARTS

What I said with regard to the cultural development of our city also holds true with respect to the Art School and the Museum of Fine Arts. The Art School is a part of Washington University, and the Art Museum is well known everywhere. When I came to St. Louis, the Museum was a small building, located in the heart of the city, and its collections could hardly be called remarkable. But the World's Fair developed more interest in art. Personally



Art Museum, Forest Park

I must say that two things opened my eyes to the beauties of art in general and of painting in particular: my journey to Europe in 1895, when I visited the art centers in Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Florence, and other cities and better understood this precious gift of God to mankind, and the remarkable art exhibition at the World's Fair. Ever since the World's Fair the collections of our Museum are housed in a large stately building in Forest Park, erected for that very purpose by the authorities of the Exposition. While our Museum, supported and maintained by taxation, can-

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

not be compared with the larger collections, for instance, in Chicago, at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and at the Museum in Washington, one must say that the objects are very carefully selected and cover every field of art and art handicraft, so that one really is able to study art in its development. In that respect St. Louis owes much to the former director of the Art School, Halsey C. Ives, who in company with prominent citizens succeeded in his endeavor to have the Art Museum placed on the annual city budget. Ives was well acquainted with Anders Zorn, the noted Swedish painter, and was one of the men who had Zorn come to St. Louis and paint portraits. Zorn's excellent portraits of the well-known brewer Adolphus Busch and his wife are to be seen in our art collection, and the same painting of Busch is found in the Germanic Museum at Harvard, founded by Busch. But I also recall a humorous incident. A well-known millionaire had his portrait painted by Zorn, but when it was finished, he did not like it and would not pay for it. A lawsuit was the result, and he was ordered to pay for the painting; but he was so dissatisfied with it that he had it destroyed. The development of the Art School also owes much to Ives' successor, Edmund Wuerpel, himself a distinguished painter of landscapes which show an intimate understanding of and communion with nature. In his student days he was a good friend of James McNeill Whistler, the gifted but sometimes erratic American painter who had made England his home. Some of Wuerpel's paintings were exhibited as early as 1900 at the Paris Exposition. He once made the pertinent remark that modern art expresses the confusion of mind and turmoil of the day in which we live. Merely putting

down color without giving any thought to form or beauty should certainly not continue. One of the instructors in the Art School was the Lutheran Carl Gustave Waldeck, whom I knew quite well, a portrait painter and the artist of what I consider the best picture of Dr. Walther, a charcoal drawing which he presented to Concordia Seminary on the occasion of the centennial of Walther's birth in 1911. The former assistant director of the Art Museum, Charles Nagel, Jr. (as also the present director, Perry T. Rathbone), conducted a series of talks on "Art in St. Louis" over our Radio Station KFUD.

The president of the board of control of the Museum for a number of years was William K. Bixby, himself a connoisseur and collector of paintings. He presented a number of fine works by American artists to the Museum. He was a very busy businessman, but devoted his spare time to cultural matters, also collecting rare books and manuscripts. He gave the money for the new building of the Art School, and his home, almost a palace, was open to lovers of art and books. For his books and manuscripts he built a fireproof addition to his home. I was particularly interested in an old, interesting Greek manuscript of the Gospels. He was kind enough to let me take it home and keep it for some time and show and explain it to my students. Professor Goodspeed of Chicago wrote a booklet on these so-called "Bixby Gospels," and they are now numbered among the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. Through Mr. Bixby I got in touch with Charles L. Freer of Detroit, his keen competitor in business, but at the same time a good friend, as Bixby told me on one occasion. Freer had bought very interesting Biblical manuscripts in

St. Louis Sixty Years Ago and Now

Egypt without realizing their full value, among them the valuable "W" manuscript of the Gospels, as it is now designated, because Freer presented it to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. He had photostatic copies prepared, also of parts of the Septuagint version of Deuteronomy and Joshua. These copies, however, were not sold, but presented to institutions that took and showed an interest in manuscript studies, and our Seminary received a copy through the gracious offices of Professor Henry A. Sanders of the State University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, who studied the New Testament manuscript and introduced the publication, and Theodore W. Koch, the librarian of the University, through which the distribution was made.

OTHER CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

There were also many other occasions when one interested in the subject could obtain information and advancement in cultural, scientific, and literary matters. Quite often noted men from our country and from Europe gave lectures. In my earlier book I have spoken of Alfred Ernest Brehm, the noted naturalist, who delivered a series of lectures; in subsequent years scholars in the field of literature, art, and music lectured to St. Louis audiences. I shall merely mention the Breslau professor Eugene Kuehnemann, who in the second decade of this century was exchange professor at Harvard University and repeatedly came to St. Louis and spoke on Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and other literati. He was one of the best and most fascinating speakers whom I have heard, even if I sometimes had the impression that he presented the great poets not as they were and according to what they said,

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but as Kuehnemann thought they were and what they meant. As a rule, German scholars used the German language, since St. Louis had a large German-speaking population. Sometimes the gymnastic societies, *Turnvereine*, made such arrangements in the interest of mental gymnastics (*geistiges Turnen*), but as a rule they were more interested in dances and the like.

For many years there existed the St. Louis Academy of Science. Our own Professor Gustave Seyffarth, of whom I have spoken in my earlier volume, was one of its founders. It had a large, very interesting, and valuable library, containing the reports of famous European scientific organizations, including also the field of theology and the classics. Repeatedly I found articles in this library which otherwise were inaccessible to me. It is now a part of our Public Library. One of its members, a botanist, George Engelmann, M. D., had an international reputation and was a lifelong friend of Asa Gray of Harvard University, the most noted botanist of the time. Engelmann's doctor's thesis was more closely related to philosophical botany than to medicine and was so favorably considered by Goethe that the poet offered to put his own notes and sketches into the hands of the young scholar. He died during my student days, in 1884, never recovering from a cold which he caught while making a path through the snow to his thermometers. Small specimens of the Rocky Mountain conifers, to which he was so attached, have been planted appropriately around his grave in Bellefontaine Cemetery. The Missouri Botanical Garden became a unique institution in our country and one of the finest botanical gardens of the world, offering relaxation and enjoyment to thousands of visitors. It was

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founded by Henry Shaw, a millionaire and great lover of flora, who requested Engelmann to examine European gardens for ideas about establishing one in Missouri, corresponded with Sir William Hooker, the director of the famed Kew Gardens of London, and upon the advice of Asa Gray invited Dr. William Trelease to assist him in the development of his garden. After Shaw's death Trelease became the first director of the garden and held that position for a number of years, editing an interesting yearly report in book form. I regret that I did not know more about botany, perhaps the most fascinating of the natural sciences, but I never had any instruction in it. A mountain peak near Georgetown, Colorado, was named after Trelease, with adjacent peaks named Mount Gray and Mount Engelmann. Also in this respect the World's Fair of 1904 resulted in considerable advancement for St. Louis, and the Congress of Arts and Sciences arranged by the exposition officials and mentioned above was indeed something unique. It gave St. Louisans an opportunity to get acquainted with quite a number of European scholars from different countries, and I personally was glad to meet some of the modern theologians present on that occasion: Otto Pfeleiderer, Adolf Harnack, and Ernest Troeltsch. While Pfeleiderer, who had also lectured in England, spoke in English, Harnack and Troeltsch spoke in German, and I remember very well that in conversation after the lecture Dr. Pieper, who was present, and, as everyone knows, was a master of clarity and intelligibility, in a very courteous way took Troeltsch to task for using a rather abstruse style. But Troeltsch simply answered: "Das ist eben meine Weise, und wer mich

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hoeren will, muss sich damit abfinden," that is my custom; whoever wants to hear me must be satisfied with it.

In this connection I should also mention other organizations that were instrumental in maintaining and raising the cultural life of St. Louis, although their membership was limited, as is usually the case with regard to such societies. But my readers must not infer that I played any part in them. Others would be able to write more fully and accurately about them. I simply took notice of them from a distance, as it were, read about them, attended meetings and lectures, conversed with some of the leaders, and was benefited by what I read, saw, and heard, without in any way neglecting my duties and studies or sacrificing my opinions and convictions. I always accepted in the proper sense the well-known Latin adage: *Homo sum, et nil humani a me alienum puto*, I am a human being, and nothing human I regard as foreign to me; but I extend and amplify it to the verse:

Aliquid est, omnino esse,
Magnum est, hominem esse,
Maius est, pastorem esse,
Maximum est, Christianum esse

that is to say: It is something to exist; it is a great thing to be a human being; it is a greater thing to be a pastor; and it is the greatest thing to be a Christian.

When I first came to St. Louis, I soon heard of a Philosophical Society that really had placed St. Louis on the map and is quite frequently mentioned as the "St. Louis Movement." I think it was probably the most important philosophical movement in our country. Two men were chiefly active in it: William T. Harris, who for a number of

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years was superintendent of public instruction in our city, raised its public school system to a very high level, and later was appointed Commissioner of Education of our Government in Washington; and with him is to be remembered Henry C. Brockmeyer, a powerful political leader, for some years Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri. They were particularly interested in the study of the ideas of the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel and favored by word of mouth and by their discussions and writings this Hegelian philosophy. They published the far-famed *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, in which men like Royce, Dewey, and James made their debut. Both were no longer in St. Louis when I first heard of them, but I had several conversations with one who was their follower and historian, Denton J. Snider, for some time a teacher in one of the St. Louis high schools, but later devoting all his time to writing. Snider was a gifted, highly educated, and well-informed typical "Privatgelehrter," private scholar, whose name was hardly known, but who wrote book after book, as many as 60 volumes, covering a wide range of subjects, not only philosophy and history, but also literature, education, and aesthetics, and treating such widely different poets as Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe. I met him at the meetings of the Missouri Historical Society and at gatherings of learned organizations, and was impressed with his versatility, even if he seemed to be somewhat peculiar. He died in 1925 at the age of 84 years.

There is at present another Philosophy Society in the city which, although not having any connection with that older organization, is also dedicated to philosophical and

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cultural discussions. Some of my colleagues are members of it, and I also have attended a number of their meetings.

Then the Missouri Historical Society should be mentioned, an old organization, still in existence and quite active. This society is interested particularly in historical studies of the territory of the Louisiana Purchase; it has very valuable historical manuscripts, a large library, and other collections pertaining to this section of our country. It also publishes interesting articles and studies covering a wide field. When I first came to St. Louis, its collections were housed in an inadequate building in the heart of the



Jefferson Memorial

BY COURTESY OF MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

city, but the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 also helped this society in a remarkable way. When the World's Fair buildings were erected, its directors put up a permanent building as a memorial to Thomas Jefferson, and the collections of the Historical Society, its library, and now also the Lindbergh trophies and memorial gifts are housed in that stately building. At the entrance of it, in the wide open space between the two wings, a large and excellent statue of Thomas Jefferson by the noted sculptor Karl Bitter was placed, a monumental piece of art, unique at that time

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in our country, commemorating the man and his deeds. In winter the Society arranges a number of lectures for its members, also open to the general public, in an assembly room of this Jefferson Memorial building, and some of the most prominent citizens of St. Louis were at different times presidents of the organization. Above I have mentioned William K. Bixby. Another well-known president was David R. Francis, the president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Mayor of St. Louis, Governor of Missouri, sometime Secretary of the Interior in President Cleveland's second term, and ambassador to Russia in President Wilson's second term, a very successful businessman, highly educated and an eloquent speaker. Having been in Russia when the revolution broke out, he was able to tell interesting things about it. When at one time a committee had a meeting with him regarding a site for our new Seminary buildings, he kept me for an hour after the meeting and gave me a glimpse of what he had seen, heard, and observed in that country.

I must also mention as one of the presidents of the Historical Society Charles Nagel, for a number of years perhaps the foremost citizen of St. Louis, a prominent attorney and Secretary of Commerce in President Taft's cabinet, the author of many addresses and articles, also of the autobiographical *A Boy's Civil War Story*, which reminded me in more than one instance of the days of my own youth, as I jokingly told him after he had presented me with a copy of the privately printed book. He presented his addresses, collected into two volumes by Professor Otto Heller of Washington University, to our Seminary library. Nagel was a very independent thinker and a defender of

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true American principles, and it was always a pleasure to listen to him in public and private.

One of the recent presidents of the Historical Society is Judge James M. Douglas of the Supreme Court of Missouri. His father, Judge Walter B. Douglas, noticing my interest in historical matters and my endeavors to have our Concordia Publishing House books presented to the Society, nominated me for an honorary membership, and this brought me into some contact with the men mentioned. And I can say that I have enjoyed my membership, which never claimed much time. In addition to this Historical Society and the State Historical Society of Missouri, with which I also am connected and which is the largest historical society in our country, we now have our own Concordia Historical Institute, which gathers and publishes historical material of our Church.

And, finally, I should mention in this brief survey the St. Louis Chapter of the American Institute of Archaeology. Our Concordia Seminary holds membership in that organization, and our instructors may attend the lectures arranged by the chapter. As the name implies, these lectures are chiefly devoted to archaeological matters and very often are most interesting. The society has brought to St. Louis lecturers of national and international reputation. At one of the meetings which I particularly remember I met the well-known New Testament scholar Dr. Caspar René Gregory, American born, but later professor at Leipzig University. Repeatedly the local chapter was host to the national organization, and sometimes such larger meetings were held conjointly with the meetings of the Association of Classical Languages or the Oriental Society, and one was able to

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meet such distinguished scholars as Paul Shorey, the Greek professor at Chicago University and lover of Plato's writings, for a term exchange professor at the University of Berlin, James Henry Breasted, the first professor of Egyptology in our country and founder of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, and Andrew West, the Latin scholar of Princeton University.

In this way I might continue to speak of Old and New St. Louis, refer to the local Classical Club and other organizations. I should also mention the influence of the daily papers, English as well as German. Some of their editors I met occasionally: Carl Daenzer of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, Emil Preetorius of the *Westliche Post*, the successor of Carl Schurz, and Caspar Y. Yost of the *Globe-Democrat*. The best known of them was probably Joseph Pulitzer, the founder of the *Post-Dispatch*. Also the publisher of the Christian family paper *Die Abendschule* and its companion *Die Rundschau* must not be forgotten, Louis Lange and his sons, Louis, Jr., August, and Theodore, all three of them much interested in the work of our Church and good friends of mine for many years. They are all gone, and the German-language papers are no more. Two poets were well known in their days: Sarah Teasdale, who later went to New York, whose final note is one of frustration and defeat,¹⁾ and Fernande Richter, who wrote and published her German poems under the nom de plume Edna Fern (Fernande) and whom I knew personally. The two large libraries of the city naturally wielded a great influence, the Public Library, headed at first by Frederick M. Crunden, the "father" of the public library system in Missouri, and later by the distinguished writer and jour-

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nalist Arthur E. Bostwick, and the Mercantile Library, very accommodating to those who joined the association by paying a fee.

In closing this chapter I will say that my life and my work in this old and in many ways interesting city, where my dear Lutheran Church and its congregations, its missions, its educational and charitable institutions, were so signally blessed by God, has been a very happy one.

CHAPTER XVI. — After Eighty Years



GAIN I MUST ADD a closing chapter, although I did not expect to do so when I wrote the chapter "Homeward Bound" in the first volume of these personal reminiscences. But since then great changes have taken place. I retired from office in June, 1943, after completing my fiftieth year as instructor at Concordia Theological Seminary, and at the suggestion of the Board of Control and others our church body has very kindly conferred upon me the title of president *emeritus*. The Board has also requested me to continue with some work in the interest of the Seminary and the church at large, and the Board of Directors of Synod has very graciously made good provision for me. But, of course, it meant quite a change in my life. After living on the campus for fifty years, 33 years in South St. Louis and 17 years in the new surroundings and buildings in the western part of the city, I moved from the campus. For a short time I continued my lectures, but upon the advice of the doctor, I discontinued them. However, I am still quite active, and God in His wonderful grace and loving-kindness has granted me the necessary mental and physical strength to continue with literary work up to the time of this writing, in June, 1946. This is a great boon to me, because I am afraid that I would not know what to do with myself if I did not have some work to do. I still continue as managing editor of the

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Lutheraner, our oldest church paper, which observed its centennial in 1944. I have done this work for forty-five years, although it requires considerably more work at the present time than it did in former years. I take care of a large correspondence, particularly with officials and pastors of our Church, but also with lay members, quite a number of whom write to me, and with men in other church bodies. Recently I read an interesting book, *New Goals for Old Age*, and learned some things from it which I apply to myself. One of my greatest pleasures is that I still have contact, personal and otherwise, with quite a number of my former students, and I can truly say, with the proper limitations, that "I count myself in nothing else so happy as in a soul remembering my good friends." And in my home life God has blessed me wondrously. This is not the place to say what my dear wife has been to me, nor could words sufficiently express it. We were privileged to observe on November 5, 1946, quietly our golden wedding anniversary, with four of our five children present and speaking to the fifth over the long-distance telephone. The Lord has been very good to me, and I can only pray that He will permit me to continue to do some work, and when this is no longer possible, will kindly spare me a weak and helpless condition and take me without much suffering into His glorious kingdom.

So I am working every day, studying, writing, reading, and observing affairs and trends in the world and in the Church, which often give me very much concern, but this is another story. In one respect I am doing this under a handicap. I have always been a great lover of books, own a large and excellent library, and have used this library

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for sixty years. I also agree with the English economist Walter Bagehot that there is "no sport like book hunting," and I have done some such hunting, not only in our country, but also through some friends in London and Berlin. And I also remember the letter of Beale M. Schmucker, written to his friend and co-worker Charles Porterfield Krauth, which I quoted in the chapter on Dr. Krauss, even if the letter is somewhat peculiar and effusive. I certainly am convinced that modern studies have done a great work particularly in linguistic and historical research, aside from the fact that many matters have been treated which were not treated before. The world is not standing still. But it sometimes seems to be necessary to stress the fact that not all old books are out of date and more or less worthless and that not all new books are valuable and should take the place of older volumes. I agree with Schmucker when I think of the excellent works in my particular field of exegetical theology: of Luther, Flacius, Chemnitz, Calov (in his Latin *Biblia Illustrata* and in his entirely different German Bible), and of Bengel. I shall just mention a later example, because I recently had occasion to consult the work again. A number of years ago I picked up almost accidentally Bachmann's Commentary on the Book of Judges. But very few know of it. I know of no one who has used it, but I found it to be a most valuable help for the understanding of that difficult Biblical book, and I was agreeably surprised when I read the following words by George Foot Moore, the distinguished Harvard professor of Semitic languages and outspoken higher critic, in his own commentary on Judges. Moore, in reviewing the pertinent literature, says: "By far the fullest recent com-

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mentary on Judges is that of J. Bachmann (1868), which was unfortunately never carried beyond the fifth chapter. The author's standpoint is that of Hengstenberg, and he is a staunch opponent of modern criticism of every shade and school; but in range and accuracy of scholarship and exhaustive thoroughness of treatment his volume stands without a rival."¹⁾

Of course, I am not able to house my large library in a rented apartment. It is scattered at three different places, and sometimes when I would like to quote or to verify something, the book is not where I look for it and perhaps cannot be found at all. My library was always a great treasure to me. It consisted of many valuable books which I inherited from my father, who was given to much reading and studying; in my younger years I bought many a book which I needed for my work and wanted to have; and I also have received quite a large number of review copies, some of them of minor value, but some very important and necessary.

Sometimes I am asked what I do for recreation and relaxation. Well, I continued with what I have indicated on a former occasion. Aside from theological books and reviews and periodicals that keep me informed on what is happening in the Church and in the world, I enjoy reading books on history, particularly biographies; and poetry, the fine arts, and music still interest me. While not at all a radio fan, I am thankful that nowadays so much good music may be heard over the radio, including the offerings of our own Radio Station KFUE. But for most of the things broadcast over the radio I have neither time nor inclination, and the news I prefer to get from the daily or weekly

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paper, where I can skip what I do not care to read. I must also say that the tendency in modern music, painting, and poetry, and much of what is being produced is not at all what I like.

In this connection I would like to say a word in answer to questions that have been raised repeatedly. What attitude should a Christian take with regard to poetry, music, and other arts when he knows well enough that those poets and artists were not at all Christians, often led a life which was truly disgraceful, and sometimes produced things which must be abhorred? In this matter it was again Luther who opened my eyes, as he did in so many things. He emphasizes that these things belong to the realm of nature, are a part of the so-called *bonum creaturae*, or natural gifts, and may be used and appreciated by the Christian, although he absolutely disavows their author. The Christian must not forget that human art and wisdom are divine gifts, which still cling to the corrupted human race as a gift from the days of Paradise. Luther is sure of the matter when he stresses the fact that all art and wisdom have been implanted in the human mind by God Himself, and that the human author produces something which is really not his own, even if he does not realize this, but the gift of God. In one place he says: "These are the powers of human wisdom which were created by God together with mankind and were implanted in the human nature in Paradise, which is indeed clear and not to be doubted." In another passage he remarks: "If our Lord has so highly endowed and ornamented this miserable life with such lovely gifts, what will be the situation in yonder life!" In the preface to the hymnbook of his friend and co-worker Johann Walther,

Luther remarks: "I am not of the opinion that all arts should be destroyed by the Gospel . . . but I would like to see all arts, particularly music, in the service of Him who has created and given them." And in a marginal note to Psalm 8:5 he says: "The laudable liberal arts invented and brought to light by learned excellent men, even if they were heathen, are useful and serve the people for this life. They are the creations and noble, delightful gifts of this Son of Man (Christ), who is Lord over everything, and He has used them and still uses them according to His pleasure for the praise, honor, and glory of His holy name."²⁾ Therefore the gifted Christian poetess Marie Feesche expresses this thought quite well when she says: "Artists are copyists. God has opened the book for them and said, Now, take."³⁾ But it is, of course, God's will that all art should tend to His glory, as one of the finest modern Christian painters, Wilhelm Steinhausen, says in one of his lectures: "All art places its accomplishments at the feet of the risen Lord," and again: "Art stands *before* the door [of heaven]. What will be when the door is *opened*?"

I have trained myself to keep this fact in mind whenever I read or hear or see something produced by someone whose views and theories I as a Christian reject and whose life has been open to censure by friend and foe. I shall just add a few examples. There can be no doubt as to how one must judge the character of the German poet Heinrich Heine, and yet it is a fact that he has written some of the finest lyric poems. Everybody knows the character and life of the greatest German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and yet his *Faust* is one of the greatest masterpieces of world literature, comprising everything, just like the great Italian

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poet Dante's *Divina Commedia*, a poetic adaptation of the medieval theology of Thomas Aquinas and which I read in the excellent translation of Philalethes, the pseudonym of King John of Saxony. For this and also for other reasons *Faust* may be of great interest to a theologian, and one need not simply discard the work. In his mature age he will evaluate it quite differently than when he read of it and heard about it in his college days. He will realize why *Faust*, just like Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, has perhaps been studied and discussed more than any other work of literature.

It is the same in music. I like and value above all other music the Lutheran heritage bequeathed to us by Johann Sebastian Bach and other great composers of our Church. But I also enjoy other music, and while I much prefer the classic masters, Haendel, Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, and others, and am happy to know that, for instance, Haendel and Haydn were Christians, I do not pass by and simply wave aside Richard Wagner, Tschaikovsky, Richard Strauss, Sibelius, and other modern masters. I have always admired Schubert's song "Death and the Maiden," the tune of which he also incorporated in one of his string quartets. For me the melody expresses, in agreement with the very simple, but just by its simplicity most impressive text by Matthias Claudius, the frightfulness of death, from which human nature shrinks back, but which is a blessed sleep for the Christian through Christ. Brahms was no Christian, but he composed the beautiful German *Requiem*, with its texts taken from Scripture, and I like to listen to his great symphonies containing passages of indescribable beauty, as in the First Symphony. Everybody knows what

kind of life Wagner led and will concede that his sensuality also appears in some of his music; one of his admirers in a book which I found when entertained on one of my travels speaks of "his supreme arrogance, his monumental ingratitude, his enormous egotism,"⁴¹ not to mention worse things. Still he is considered, and probably rightly so, the greatest dramatic genius of the nineteenth century, and this admirer terms him "the most interesting personality in the entire galaxy of famous musicians." Certainly his *Parsifal*, with its "Good Friday Spell," not to speak of other objections, can never be considered sacred music, and those who consider it so do not realize the difference between truly sacred music and emotionalism. Richard Strauss composed music that is repulsive. His *Salome*, which according to what I have read, must be just as offensive and repulsive as Oscar Wilde's blasphemous text, was severely criticized and rejected even by worldly-minded New Yorkers forty years ago. (I am sorry to say that a change seems to have taken place in that respect in recent years.) However, one may say that there is a passage in Strauss' *Death and Transfiguration*, towards the end, which is of particular beauty and may be listened to with pleasure by a Christian, although I am otherwise not a friend of this kind of music in general and of that tone poem in particular. Some modern compositions, I am frank enough to say, I do not understand, even after listening to them repeatedly, and I know that others feel the same way about them. But I know of true tone poems, musical poetry in the strictest sense of the term — the choral preludes of Bach, Scheidt, and other Lutheran masters, as interpreted by Rechlin, Guenther Ramin, and others. They are remarkable from

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a musical standpoint and may be called a means of worship, instrumental confessions of our faith, proofs of the belief of those masters in the doctrine of the universal priesthood of Christians. And what is even such a passage in *Death and Transfiguration* compared with the wonderful tune of "Jerusalem, Thou City Fair and High" by Melchior Franck, that excellent and devout composer of church music, which Heinrich Koestlin, who had a rare understanding for church music, calls "that wonderful melody resembling a seraphic ray of light dropping down from the upper sanctuary into the terrestrial night, from which the enraptured look of the devout singer [Johann Matthaeus Meyfart] rises to the illuminated pinnacles of the eternal city." ⁵⁾

In the Metropolitan Museum in New York I have stood repeatedly before the painting of the Swiss artist Arnold Böcklin "Die Toteninsel," the Isle of the Dead. It is a sad and somber scene: the boat carrying a corpse approaching the island; large, rugged cliffs; dark cypress trees; caves as the homes of the dead; heavy thunderclouds in the sky; and the infinite sea, the waves of which produce, as it were, a hushed lamentation; a white figure bending over the coffin. But unexpectedly there is in the darkness of death a shining ray of hope and sunshine as from another world. Probably the painter simply wanted to create an artistic effect, but I find in it that ray of Christian hope shedding light upon the darkness of death, the lot of all mankind.

And so I can only repeat that the gifts of art are the gifts of God and that some poets, musicians, and painters without their knowing and realizing it, perhaps against their own will, produce something which a Christian may enjoy. Then there are such a great number of exceptionable

works in every branch of the fine arts covering neutral ground, and, above all, we have the productions of masters in our own Church, of which I have spoken in other connections, musicians, painters, and poets. Just lately I became acquainted with some of the works of the American painter Charles Burchfield, a Lutheran, who has an originality of his own.

I am not alone in my opinion and criticism. The noted music critic Olin Downes has said somewhere that a good musical program of today should offer 75 per cent of the works of the classical masters that have stood the test of time, and only 25 per cent of contemporaneous music that must show whether it will remain and not be forgotten. I was glad to note that the present chancellor of Washington University, Arthur H. Compton, of atomic fame, stated very frankly in a public address, when opening the university's new gallery of modern art, that he was unable to fathom what the artists of today had in mind. Unfortunately, much modern poetry is written in such a way that one can hardly make out what the author means, and it is said of a Harvard professor that he congratulated a modern poet on his productions, but added, "I have only one fault to find with it: I was able to understand it." "*Si non e vero, e ben trovato*," if it is not true, it is well made up, says an Italian proverb. Others have expressed the same opinion, and it was rather amusing what was reported of Archibald MacLeish, the noted American writer and poet, sometime director of the Congressional Library and also Under-secretary of State. When Senator Bennett C. Clark, who had to pass on MacLeish's nomination for the latter office, told him that he had read some of his poems and added

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that he might not be smart, but he found himself completely unable to understand them, MacLeish merely answered: "Others have had the same difficulty"; and when Clark asked him whether he himself understood them, MacLeish called attention to the famous remark of Browning, who, when asked by a friend what he meant by a certain passage, read it over and said: "When I wrote that, God and I knew what it meant; but now God alone knows." But of greater concern to me is the fact that nowadays also in prose writings, and even in sermons, one meets with such a vague and obscure presentation that one asks himself, What did he really say? I remember very well a remark of Dr. Pieper when he discussed some modern theological works. He stated correctly that such abstruse language is an abomination, an abuse of human language, because God has given language to man in order to make himself understood; and he added very properly that the lack of clearness and perspicuity is, in the last analysis, lack of clear thinking.

I am still continuing, in a limited way, to read notable books, but purposely I have been avoiding books on the war. I have lived through the First World War, and after some years I read historical presentations made by English, American, and German authors based on the original sources and "blue" books which were then available. What I had surmised, I found to be true. While a war is still being waged, half-truths, untruths, and lies are published, and I did not care to go through such an experience again. This time it will most probably take even longer to get a true record on the basis of the more or less secret documents which will then be printed, but I do not expect to live that long.

This is hardly the place, neither is it my purpose to enlarge upon these matters, but being and claiming to be a hundred-per-cent American, I cannot but regret the change that has taken place since 1893; and running again across the words of Kipling, an archapostle of British imperialism, I was struck by the aptness of his remarks in the light of the events of the past decade, culminating in the atomic development:

Far-called, our navies melt away —
On dune and headland sinks the fire —
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget.

His *Recessional* was designed to shake his people out of their complacency, and it endures as a warning to all the nations against false pride, against glorying in temporal strength, against departure from the truths that are fundamental for national welfare. But the tragic truth is that the world, including our country, “forgets,” is forgetting the lessons of the past, thereby justifying the epigram of the cynical philosopher-historian Hegel: “Men learn from history only that men learn nothing from history.” More than once I have thought in these years of Oswald Spengler, the well-known *Geschichtsphilosoph*, and of his book *The Decline of the West* (*Untergang des Abendlandes*), which created such a sensation over twenty years ago and was read as a sort of secular Apocalypse (“weltliche Apokalypse”), although almost forgotten nowadays.

I have been reading books which to some extent cover the history of the years leading up to that terrible catas-

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trophe which began in 1939, but I am much more inclined to read past history, for instance, such interesting books as *The World of Washington Irving*, by Van Wyck Brooks, and, as I stated in another connection, biographies of famous men in Church and State, new works like the biography of James Henry Breasted, the father, one might say, of Egyptology in our country and founder of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, written by his son, and Oswald Garrison Villard's *Fighting Years, Memoirs of a Liberal Editor*, always holding fast to my principles laid down above and not shirking strong criticism. Charles Nagel in a conversation once called Villard the outstanding and best American journalist, and Villard himself wrote me not long ago that he had not abated his defense of the fundamental American principles. Sometimes I also return to older works which I failed to read when they appeared, like W. Hopf's biography of August Vilmar, one of the most independent German Lutheran theologians of the nineteenth century, indeed a *Lebens- und Zeitbild*. I fully agree with William H. Prescott, who says somewhere in his *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies*: "There is no kind of writing which has truth and instruction for its main object so interesting and popular, on the whole, as biography." My time for such reading is still limited if I want to keep abreast of what is published and discussed in the field of religion and theology.

And now I am at the close of this chapter. In bygone days I had occasion to correspond with a notable European scholar, Cornelius August Wilkens, frequent contributor to Luthardt's *Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung* and *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, living in Kalks-

burg near Vienna. At first a theologian of the Reformed persuasion, he became through Luthardt a Lutheran. He was a *Privatgelehrter*, a private scholar who never married, wrote besides scientific works and articles a brief but exquisite biography of the "Swedish Nightingale," Jenny Lind, and very courteously answered my letters.⁶⁾ He left voluminous manuscript collections, comprising one hundred volumes and containing observations on and criticisms of innumerable things, some of which have been printed in two volumes under the title: "*Otium Kalksburgense* [Kalksburg Leisure]. From the Diaries of an Evangelical Minister." The last brief entry is under the date of June 21, 1914, and, although 85 years old, he writes with a firm hand: "The longest day. With sorrow I am beholding it. The day of death is our longest day here below. Blessed is he for whom follows an eternally long day!"⁷⁾ The next morning he was found in his bed peacefully sleeping, as it seemed, but dead. He had experienced what he had so often desired, the truth of the well-known verse frequently quoted by him:

Du kannst durch des Todes Tueren
Traeumend fuehren.

"Lord, Thou mayest lead me through the doors of death as in a dream." That is the sentiment expressed in the wonderful 126th Psalm, applied to the deliverance in death through a peaceful slumber: "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream." Being eighty-two years of age, I am drawing nearer and nearer to that blessed day with the same words in my mind. Earl Balfour, as his eyes closed in death, whispered:

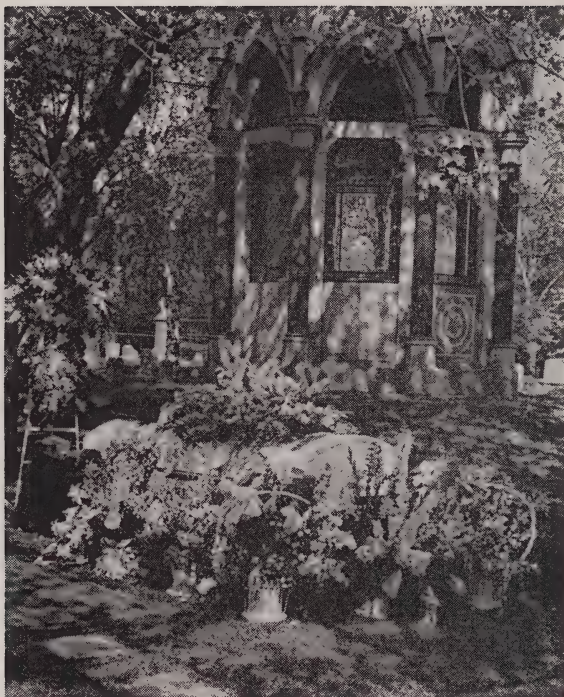
After Eighty Years

"This is going to be a great experience." ⁸⁾ I am not informed about his Christian belief, but I say the same words in the firm belief that the eternal riddle of life and death will then be solved forever, and a new life will begin, timeless, changeless, Life Eternal with Christ, my Lord and my Savior.



**Funeral of Dr. L. Fuerbringer in Holy Cross Church,
May 8, 1947**

President John W. Behnken delivering the sermon



Vault Ready for Burial, Concordia Cemetery
Dr. Walther mausoleum in background

Notes

By Way of Introduction

1. Quoted by G. W. Sandt, *Theodore Emanuel Schmauk. A Biographical Sketch*. Philadelphia, 1921. P. 66.

Chapter 1

1. Wyneken's "Notruf" first appeared in 1842 as a pamphlet in Germany: "Die Not der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika. Ihren Glaubensgenossen in der Heimat ans Herz gelegt von Fr. W." It was reprinted in Harless' *Zeitschrift fuer Protestantismus und Kirche*, Erlangen, 1843, Vol. 5, p. 124, under the title "Aufruf an die lutherische Kirche Deutschlands zur Unterstuetzung der Glaubensbrueder in Nordamerika." The "Erste amerikanische Auflage" appeared in Pittsburgh, 1844, under the title: "Die Not der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika. Ihren Glaubensgenossen in der Heimat ans Herz gelegt von Fr. Wyneken, Pastor in Fort Wayne in Indiana." C. F. W. Walther called attention to it in the *Lutheraner*, 1 (1844-45), page 31.
2. *Lehre und Wehre*, 68 (1922), p. 1; *Lutheraner*, 47 (1891), p. 147; 48 (1892), p. 3.

Chapter 2

1. *Lutheraner*, 25 (1868), p. 1; *Lehre und Wehre*, 21 (1875), p. 173.
2. *Magazin fuer evangelisch-lutherische Homiletik*, 15 (1891), p. 161. Other references are: "Frederick August Craemer" by W. G. Polack. *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 7 (1936), pp. 704-709.

Chapter 3

1. *Lebenslauf von W. Sihler bis zu seiner Ankunft in New York*. St. Louis, Mo., 1879, pp. 82-87. — *Lebenslauf von W. Sihler als lutherischer Pastor*. Vol. 2. New York. 1880. — My copy of this second volume bears the inscription in Sihler's own characteristic handwriting: "Der liebwerten Freundin meiner Johanne und meiner geneigten Goennerin Fraeulein Agnes Fuerbringer zu freundlichem Andenken von dem Verfasser W. S. Fort Wayne am 27. Januar 1883."

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2. An extended biography of Sihler, "Zum Ehrengedaechtnis des am 27. Oktober 1885 selig heimgegangenen Dr. W. Sihler," was written by Pastor J. H. Jox and published in installments in the *Lutheraner*, 42 (1886), p. 17, and subsequent issues. — A pamphlet, "Zum Ehrengedaechtnis des am 27. Oktober 1885 im Herrn selig entschlafenen Dr. Wilhelm Sihler," St. Louis, 1885, contains the three memorial addresses. — Other References: *Ebenezer*. Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century. Edited by W. H. T. Dau. St. Louis, 1922. Pp. 65–78: "Dr. William Sihler." By Rev. W. Broeker. — *The Javelin*. By a Lutheran (Joseph A. Seiss?). Philadelphia, 1871. Pp. 290–337: "The General Council and the Missourians," with a reference to an article by Sihler in *Lehre und Wehre*, 13 (1867), p. 358: "Ein ernstes Bedenken."

Chapter 4

1. *Lutheraner*, 51 (1895), p. 64.
2. *Lebensbild Pastor E. A. Brauers*. St. Louis. 1893. Pp. 24, 25.
3. *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und ueber Nordamerika*. 1852. P. 67.
4. A reprint in Geo. J. Fritschel's *Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der Ev. Luth. Synod von Iowa und andern Staaten*. Chicago. 1917. P. 112.
5. *Lutheraner*, 13 (1856–1857), pp. 14, 99, 109, 116. — H. Meyer, *Pflanzungsgeschichte des Minnesota-Distrikts der Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten*. Minneapolis. 1932. Pp. 13–29.
6. A record of this journey, written by one of the participants, the second son of Sievers, Bernard, is printed in the *Lutheraner*, 87 (1931), pp. 132, 150, 164.
7. *Lutheraner*, 51 (1895), p. 106.
8. *Lutheraner*, 51 (1895), p. 64.

Chapter 5

1. *Lebenslauf von W. Sihler als lutherischer Pastor*. Vol. II. New York. 1880. Pp. 58–71. This second volume covers the life of Dr. Sihler from his arrival in America up to 1879. — "Susanna, The Story of a Little Pioneer Girl" (Manuscript).
2. *Lutheraner*, 47 (1891), p. 182.

Notes

Chapter 6

1. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 39, p. 530.
2. *Die Stephansche Auswanderung nach Amerika*. Mit Aktenstuecken. Von Dr. Carl Eduard Vehse. Dresden. 1840.
3. *Auswanderung der saechsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838*. J. F. Koestering. St. Louis. 1866. P. 43. (The first chapter in this book, pp. 1—18, was written by C. F. W. Walther. Cp. p. XXII.) Cp. also J. F. Koestering, *Leben und Wirken des Ehrw. E. G. W. Keyl*. St. Louis. 1882. P. 56.
4. *Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1 (1840), Part 3, pp. 133—144.
5. *Lutheraner*, 8 (1851—52), p. 105. — Vol. 94 (1938), pp. 162, 170.
6. *Lutheraner*, 17 (1860—61), p. 8.
7. *Lutheraner*, 40 (1884), p. 37.
8. *Kurzer Lebenslauf des weiland ehrwuerdigen Pastor Joh. Friedr. Buenger*. St. Louis, 1882. P. 19.
9. *Reden, gehalten am Sarge der weiland Frau Caroline Juliana Barthel am 14. Juli, 1881*. St. Louis. Cp. also *Dr. C. F. W. Walther. Lebensbild* entworfen von Martin Guenther. St. Louis. 1890. Pp. 10, 11. — *Dr. C. F. W. Walther*. By D. H. Steffens. Philadelphia. 1917. Pp. 44—46. — *The Story of C. F. W. Walther*. By W. G. Polack. St. Louis. 1935. Pp. 15, 16.

Chapter 7

1. *Lutheraner*, 70 (1914), p. 93.
2. *Lutheraner*, 84 (1928), p. 195.
3. *Lutheraner*, 88 (1932), p. 350.

Chapter 8

1. The address is printed in *Lehre und Wehre*, 25 (1879), p. 257.
2. The sermon was printed in the *Lutheraner*, 40 (1884), p. 81.
3. *Charles Porterfield Krauth*. By Adolph Spaeth. Philadelphia. 1909. 1, p. 189.

Persons and Events

4. *Lehre und Wehre*, 52 (1906), pp. 155, 416; 60 (1914), p. 433; 54 (1908), p. 97.
5. *Verhandlungen der 19. Versammlung der Ev.-Luth. Synodal-konferenz*. 1902. — 11. *Synodalbericht des Illinois-Distrikts*. 1889. — 23. *Synodalbericht des Illinois-Distrikts*. 1907. — 3. *Synodalbericht des Texas-Distrikts*. 1909. — 44. *Synodalbericht des Westlichen Distrikts*. 1912. — 47. *Synodalbericht des Westlichen Distrikts*. 1916.
6. This address is published in the *Lutheraner*, 80 (1924), p. 379.

Chapter 9

1. *Ev. Luth. Dogmatik von Dr. Theol. Adolf Hoenecke*. Milwaukee, Wis. Four volumes. 1909–1917. Cp. the extended evaluation of this work by Dr. Francis Pieper in his *Christliche Dogmatik*, 1, 206–216. St. Louis. 1924.
2. *Herr, wenn ich nur Dich habe*. Milwaukee, 1893. — *Predigt-entwuerfe ueber die altkirchlichen Evangelien und Episteln*. Milwaukee. 1907. — *Ein Laemmlein geht und traegt die Schuld*. Zwei Reihen Passionspredigten. Milwaukee. 1909. Prof. Werner Franzmann translated one series of these Lenten sermons into English: *A Lamb Goes Uncomplaining Forth*. Grand Rapids, 1939.
3. *Verhandlungen der 15. Versammlung der Ev.-Luth. Synodal-konferenz von Nordamerika*. St. Louis. 1894. Pp. 6–60.

Chapter 10

1. *Laur. Larsen*. Pioneer College President. By Karen Larsen. Northfield, Minn. 1936. Pp. 135, 139, 155, 157.
2. "Ein Beitrag zur Pruefung der sogenannten 'Missverstaendnisse' zwischen Missouri und Iowa." *Lutheraner*, 30 (1874), pp. 65, 81, 89, 113. — "Zur Beleuchtung der neuesten Iowaischen Bemaentelungsversuche." *Lutheraner*, 31 (1875), pp. 49, 57, 65, 75. — *Die Iowaischen Missverstaendnisse und Bemaentelungen*. Aus den Haendeln und Buechern beleuchtet von F. A. Schmidt, Professor der norwegisch-lutherischen Synode am Concordia Seminar zu St. Louis, Mo. (Separate print.) St. Louis. 1876.

Notes

3. Reprinted in *Lehre und Wehre*, 27 (1881), p. 504.
4. "Das persoenliche Element in Lehrstreitigkeiten." *Lehre und Wehre*, 39 (1893), p. 321. *Concordia Triglotta*, p. 187. Mueller, *Die Symbolischen Buecher*, p. 128.
5. "Eine Bitte an die Herren St. Louiser." *Theologische Zeitblaetter* (Ohio Synod), 12, 6.
6. "Der Kampf um das *sola gratia*." *Lehre und Wehre*, 40 (1894), pp. 9, 33, 65.

Chapter 11

1. *Lutheraner*, 11, pp. 185, 193; 12, pp. 9, 13, 22.
2. *Jubelfestbuechlein zur Feier des viertelhalbhundertjaehrigen Jubilaeums der lutherischen Kirchenreformation*. — Lieder zum viertelhalbhundertjaehrigen Reformations-Jubilaeums. St. Louis. 1867.
3. *Denkmal der dritten Jubelfeier der Concordienformel im Jahre des Heils 1877*. St. Louis. 1877.
4. *Lutheraner* 36, pp. 1, 9, 17; 73, pp. 81, 91, 93, 189; 86, pp. 95, 109, 142.
5. *Luther-Denkmal*. Von W. G. Hugo Hanser. Baltimore. 1884. Stoeckhardt's sermon is printed on pp. 380—388.
6. Oratio quam in celebrandis semisecularibus reformationis ecclesiae in schola theologica, quam vocant Concordiae S. Ludovici in republica Missouri V Idus Novembres anni MDCCCLXVII habuit H. M. Baumstark, Professor. A review of the oration in *Lehre und Wehre*, 14, p. 89.
7. *Lutheraner*, 28, p. 75. Compare also the author's *Eighty Eventful Years*, pp. 230—238.
8. 12. und 13. *Synodalbericht (1864 and 1866) der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten*, 1866, p. 90. *Lutheraner*, 20, p. 161; 21, pp. 4, 47, 79.
9. *Vierzehnter Synodalbericht der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten*. 1869, pp. 30—35.
10. *Unsere Wege zur katholischen Kirche*. Von Reinhold Baumstark und Hermann Baumstark. Freiburg im Breisgau. 1870. Pp. 195, 203.

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11. *Unsere Wege zur katholischen Kirche*. Pp. 186, 204, 209, 210.
12. *Lehre und Wehre*, 19 (1873), p. 12. The reader interested in this matter will find in this review a number of quotations from Baumstark's book, also those which have been used in this chapter. Cp. pp. 83, 98. *Unsere Wege zur katholischen Kirche*, pp. 214, 191. Other quotations from the book, made with a certain bias, are contained in *Erinnerungen an Prof. C. F. W. Walther und seine Zeit*, von J. L. Gruber in footnotes added by Geo. J. Fritschel.
13. *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, von H. M. Baumstark. St. Louis. 1867.
14. *Sancti Augustini Confessiones*. Karl von Raumer's edition. Stuttgart. 1856. P. 1 (Book 1, chapter 1).

Chapter 12

1. *Verhandlungen der Allgemeinen Pastoralkonferenz der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten ueber die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl*. St. Louis. 1880.
2. *18. Synodalbericht*. 1881. Pp. 12—18, 27—45. 2. Pastoralkonferenz.
3. *Verhandlungen der 9. Versammlung der Ev.-Luth. Synodal-konferenz von Nordamerika*. St. Louis. 1882.
4. *Lutheraner*, 40 (1884), p. 73.
5. *19. Synodalbericht*, 1884, p. 161, continued in *Lehre und Wehre*, 30 (1884), p. 329.
6. *Lehre und Wehre*, 75 (1929), p. 196.
7. The sermon is printed in the *Lutheraner*, 40 (1884), p. 81.
8. *Ehrendenkmal des weiland ehrwuerdigen Pastor Johann Heinrich Sieker*. West Roxbury, Mass. 1905.
9. *Eighty Eventful Years*. St. Louis. 1944. Pp. 35—40, 76—80.
10. *Lutheraner*, 48 (1892), pp. 40, 100.

Chapter 13

1. Quoted in *Luther, Zinzendorf, Wesley*. By Rev. P. Anstadt, D. D., York, Pa. P. 29.

Notes

2. *Luthers Werke*. Herausgegeben von Buchwald, Kawerau, Julius Koestlin, Rade, Ewald, Schneider und andern. Dritte Auflage. Berlin 1905. 7, 4.
3. *Luther's Works*, St. Louis Edition, 15:794; 19:986. Philadelphia Edition, 2, 311.
4. Bunyan quoted in Anstadt's *Luther*, Zinzendorf, Wesley, p. 41. —F. Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, III, p. 296 (note). — Cp. also "Luthers erste Vorlesung ueber den Galaterbrief," *Lehre und Wehre*, 66 (1920), 205. — *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 7 (1936), p. 577, "The Greatness of Luther's Commentary on Galatians." Concerning English and French translations cp. *Luther's Works*, St. Louis Edition, 9:2 (note); H. E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England*. 1908. — W. Vollrath, *Theologie der Gegenwart in Grossbritannien*, pp. 153—172: "Zur Rezeption Luthers in England."
5. St. Louis Edition, 1:XII; 2:2091.
6. *Luther's Works*. Berlin Edition, 1, 293.
7. St. Louis Edition, 4:550.
8. *Zeitschrift fuer Systematische Theologie*, 12, 208.
9. *Martin Luther. Theologie des Kreuzes*. Leipzig. P. XVII.
10. *Zeitschrift fuer Systematische Theologie*, 12, 215.
11. *Lebenserinnerungen aus fuenfzig Jahren*. Von Wilh. Walther. Schwerin. P. 94.
12. Muenkel, K. J. P. *Spitta: Ein Lebensbild*, p. 39, quoted in the *Lutheran Church Quarterly*, October, 1937. P. 415.
13. *Lutheraner*, 67 (1911), pp. 190, 205.
14. "Grundzuege der lutherischen Hermeneutik, zusammengestellt aus Luthers Schriften," *Lehre und Wehre*, 28 (1882), p. 57. — Dr. M. Luther. Ein Lebensbild nach den eigenen Ausspruechen Luthers und den Angaben seiner Zeitgenossen. *Lehre und Wehre*, 57 (1911), p. 433.

Chapter 14

1. An interesting biography of Biewend, a fine scholar and an excellent teacher, was written by Henry C. Wyneken and published in St. Louis in 1896.

Persons and Events

2. *Episodes of My Life*. Rolla Wells. St. Louis. 1933.
3. *Eighty Eventful Years*. St. Louis. 1944. Pp. 48–54.
4. *St. Louis. The Fourth City. 1764–1909*. By Walter B. Stevens. St. Louis. Chicago. 1909. Vol. 1, p. 729. — Cp. also the pamphlet “Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis. One Hundred Twenty-Five Years of Service. 1819–1944.” P. 3.
5. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 8, 619. — *Lutheraner*, 27 (1870 to 1871), p. 86.

Chapter 15

1. *Missouri Historical Review*, October, 1945, p. 20. — This important publication may also be consulted with regard to other persons mentioned in this chapter, for instance, Henry Shaw (July, 1944, p. 472), Engelmann, Pritchett, Harris, Brockmeyer (July, 1944, p. 359; April, 1944, pp. 339, 258, 259). The editor Floyd C. Shoemaker, secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, is considered the best authority on the history of Missouri. In an article on “Ten Missouri Representatives” he stated that if he would go beyond this number, he would also include C. F. W. Walther. — *The American-German Review*, 12 (1946), p. 16, contains an interesting article on Engelmann.

Chapter 16

1. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*. New York. 1895. P. L (Latin L = 50).
2. *Luthers Saemmtliche Schriften*. St. Louis. 10:1424; 9:1769.
3. *Erntesegen*. Gedichte von M. Feesche. Hannover. 1914. P. 11.
4. Edward Ziegler: *Tristan and Isolde*. Translated by Richard La Gallienne. New York. Foreword, p. V.
5. “Halte, was du hast.” *Zeitschrift fuer Pastoraltheologie*. 24, 498.
6. *Jenny Lind*. Ein Caecilienbild aus der evangelischen Kirche von C. A. Wilkens. Guetersloh. 1898.
7. C. A. Wilkens, *Aus den Tagebuechern eines evangelischen Pfarrers*. Guetersloh. 1923. P. IX.
8. George Lawton, *New Goals for Old Age*. New York. 1943. P. 33.

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